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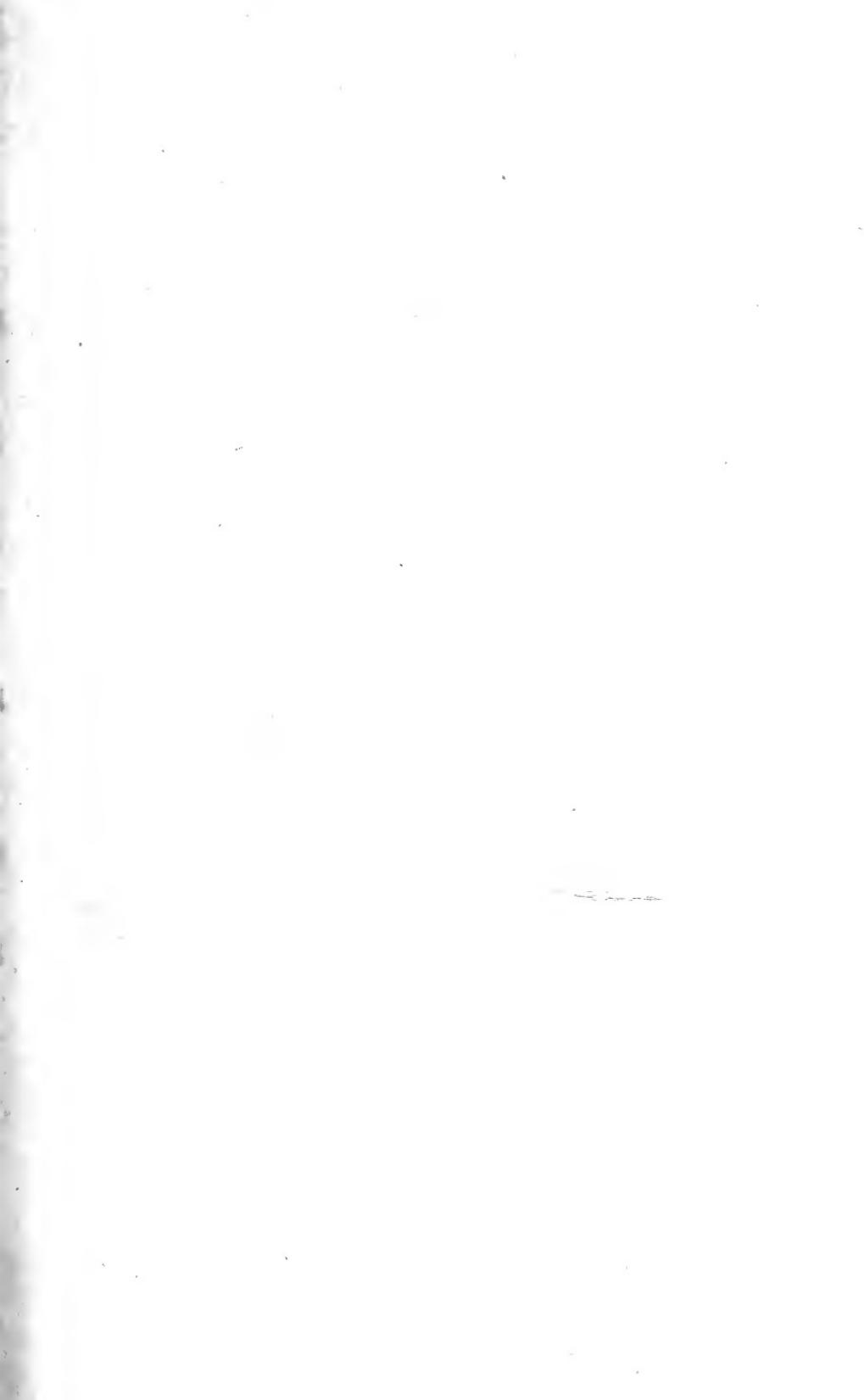
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GENERAL VIEW OF MONTAÑA DE LA FLOR SHOWING UPPER FORESTS
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INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No.

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A SERIES OF PUBLICA-
TIONS RELATING TO THE
AMERICAN ABORIGINES

THE JICAQUE (TORRUPAN) INDIANS OF HONDURAS

BY

V. WOLFGANG VON HAGEN

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION

1943

972. 1989
1989
1989

LANCASTER PRESS, INC., LANCASTER, PA.

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THE JICAQUE (TORRUPAN) INDIANS OF HONDURAS

BY

V. WOLFGANG VON HAGEN

THE last remnant of the Jicaque (Torrupan) Indians, who once inhabited a quarter of the area of the Republic of Honduras, are now found in a small region known as Montaña de la Flor situated in contiguous areas of the Departments of Tegucigalpa, Olancho and Yoro, between 14° and 15° North latitude on the 87th parallel.

While there are at present numerous completely Hispanicized Jicaques living in the Department of Yoro occupying territory extending northward to the Sierra de Omoa close to the Guatemalan border, as far as is known at this time the group with which this study deals are the last and only unit of the tribe to retain its ancient culture more or less intact.

That the name Jicaque was a general designation in the seventeenth century for all the Indians of Honduras, the Sumu, Paya, and Torrupan being included, is quite evident.¹ Fr. Cristóval Martínez Puerta,² who ascended the Rio Plántain and went among the Paya Indians in that century, referred to them as "Xicaques," and Padre Estavan Verdelete,

who met the tribes living near the Upper Patuca or the Guayape River in Olancho from 1609 to 1611 similarly designated them³ although, actually, they were not Jicaques, but Twahakas, a sub-tribe of the Sumu.⁴

As a result of this confusion specific literature concerning the original inhabitants of the north coast of Honduras from Guatemala to the Rio Plántain is practically non-existent. This lack creates an immense hiatus in the ethnology of Central American tribes, and makes it extremely difficult to establish many details concerning the ancient culture of the Jicaque proper, who call themselves Torrupan.

The expedition to Honduras in 1937-1938 under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, contemplated an ethnological and zoological survey of that country, among the Sumu, Paya, Miskito, and Torrupan groups. The present monograph is a report of four months' investigation among the Hispanicized Jicaques of Yoro, and two among the primitive Jicaques in the Montaña de la Flor. In addition to the ethnological collections made and to the series of live-masks procured, all of which are deposited in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, an exhaustive ethno-botanical collection made by Christine Inez von Hagen forms a comprehensive basis for the study of the material culture of the Jicaque (Torrupan).

HYDROGRAPHY

The Montaña de la Flor, situated at an altitude of 4,000 feet, has but one large river, the Guarabuqui, on either side of which the palisaded villages of the Jicaques are located. This swift-flowing stream, seldom exceeding fifty feet in width in its normal stage, empties into the Guayape, one of the tributaries of the largest river of Honduras, the Patuca, which, in turn, finds its outlet at Brewers Lagoon on the Mosquito coast. All of the remaining rivers in the vicinity are really no more than small streams, although they do rise threateningly during the rainy season. A curious division of drainage occurs in the Montaña de la Flor. The Guarabuqui makes a complete circuit around the eminence before it reaches the Rio Guayape to the east, while another stream, arising there, flows west to form the Rio Sulaco, a tributary of the Ulua.

The Rio Guarabuqui, not navigable even for canoes, descends the Montaña in a series of cascades, dropping a thousand feet in five kilometers, to enter the relatively flat plains of Olancho. The whole of the region is subject to sporadic subterranean rumblings but these, at least in the interior, seldom reach the point of actual surface eruption. There are no records, since the conquest at least, of any active volcanoes in Honduras although there have been numerous eruptions among those of the bordering countries of Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

in both colonial and recent times. As an indication of earlier disturbances in Honduras, however, there are at San Ignacio, sixteen kilometers from the Montaña de la Flor, five acres covered with boiling sulphur springs. Cattle come to drink the water and occasionally the *ladinos** visit here for cures of various maladies. Although the Jicaque know of these springs, they never use them for therapeutic purposes as do the Sumus of the Rio Patuca at similar spas in their neighborhood.

CLIMATE

The seasonal cycle in the mountain areas of Honduras above 4,500 feet is fairly constant. October and November are unpleasant months of squalls (*chubascos* or *nortés*) which bring high winds and much rain. These storms cease in December or January when the temperature becomes cool, ranging from 45° F. at night to a high of 70° during the day.⁵ Little rain falls during these months. February, March, April are the bright, sunny, springlike months with rain about every third day. May, June, July constitute the rainy season, although in the central

* *Ladino*. In early Spanish, one who speaks a foreign language in addition to his own. The term was given to Indians who spoke Spanish and also acquired the customs of the conquering race. Today the Indians of these countries who speak Spanish and who do not wear the native costumes nor preserve native customs are called *ladinos*. *Ladino* in Honduras is synonymous with the *mestizo* of Mexico, and the *cholo* of Ecuador and Peru.

montaña this period is not clearly defined. There, contrary to expectations, the amount of precipitation is not much over 80-90 inches a year. August and September are the rainless, dry months, during which the *ladinos* and the Indians fell trees to clear space for their gardens.

FLORA

The tropical zone, or *tierra caliente*, extends from sea level to about 1,500 feet. Along the Caribbean, on the shores of the Mosquito coast, and inland in the so-called ocotal-robledals,* pine, which because Honduras is generally mountainous constitutes over 75 per cent of the forest growth, is found intermittantly at altitudes as low as two hundred feet. On the Pacific coast bordering the Gulf of Fonseca where the mountains rise abruptly, the humid zone is restricted and more clearly defined. Here the pine and oak regions begin immediately back of the flat swamp-plains of the Fonsecan estuaries and are more or less continuous throughout the country. The flora of this tropical zone include rubber (*Castilla elastica*), cecropia (*Asperrima* sp.), balsa (*Ochroma* sp.), chicle or zapote (*Achras chicle*), ceiba (*Ceiba pentandra*), cedar (*Podocarpus coriaceus* RICH.), mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*), and Santa Maria trees (*Calophyllum calaba* JACQ.).

* Stream beds and gully bottoms containing a fertile deposit of humus washed down from the higher pine and oak regions.

The temperate zone, dominated by pine (*Pinus oocarpa*) and various oaks (*Quercus segoviensis*; *comayaguana*; and *oleoides*), is located at altitudes from 1,500 to 5,000 feet. An admixture of hardwoods occurs in the lower reaches, but practically pure stands of pine are found as the higher slopes and elevations are reached. At the heads of the draws in the gully bottoms of the ocotal-robledals, patches of hardwoods and humid-tropical plants are found growing to the virtual exclusion of pine. Here the wild fig (*Ficus involuta*; *radula*; and *glabrata*), various guavas (*Inga edulis*), aguacatillos (*Nectandra globosa*), zapote (*Calocarpum mammosm*), varieties of wild grapes or uvas (*Ardisia compressa* HBK) and river reeds (*Arthostylidium racemiflorum* STEUD.), which latter furnish the Indians material for their baskets, grow profusely.

Above the 5,000 foot limit of the pine regions, the mountains are swathed continuously in great masses of clouds, fog-bathed during the rainy season, the upper reaches of the interior highlands are constantly adrip with almost ceaseless, chill rains. The flora here is dense, the trees growing to huge size. The giant oaks (*Quercus segoviensis*) and liquidambars (*Liquidambar styraciflua*) are immense and most of them are festooned with creepers, the protecting branches being draped with parasitic epiphytes or covered with immense folds of a grey moss-like *tillandsia* (pl. II, upper). Tree and ground ferns, vines of varying thicknesses, and sars-

parilla, which once commanded a good export market, grow profusely and add to the general floral profusion of the area. Such is a typical picture of the Montaña de la Flor, the present home of the primitive Jicaque (Torrupan). With their villages in the dry ocotal-robledals and their gardens in the humid forests, the whole group economy is geared to the vegetal life produced in these climatic environments.

FAUNA OF CENTRAL HONDURAS

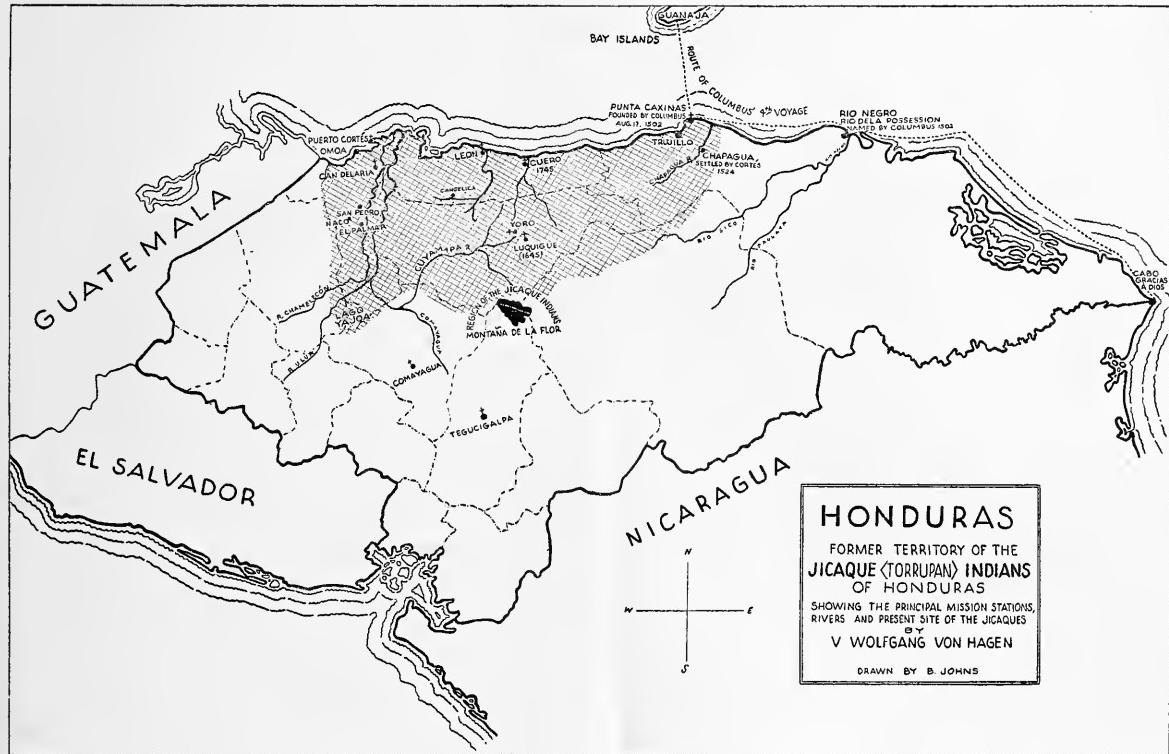
The fauna of the Montaña is typical of any similar region of Central America and, as the population of Honduras is less dense than in most countries—twenty-one to the square mile, its animal life is comparatively rich. The deer, a most important food item among the Indians, is found both in the pine-oak region and in the cloud forest, the small red variety being especially esteemed by the natives. Two species of wild pig, the collared and the white lipped peccary, along with the tapir are the most ubiquitous game animals in both ecological zones. In the tree tops the howling monkey, the spider monkey, and the white faced capuchin are hunted, while below, the agouti and paca supply the Jicaque, as they do the other groups of tropical America, with additional flesh food.

Birds are abundant, the curassow, several varieties of pigeons, and the tinamou (*Crypturus* sp.), being

avidly hunted for their flesh. The birds of the cloud forest are of greatest interest, probably less being known about them than those of any other region in Central America. The beautiful quetzal (*Pharomachrus mocinno*), the first examples of which to be captured alive were brought back by the expedition,⁶ is found here, as are the toucan, trogon, and large parrot. The quail, woodhewer, thrush, motmot, hilguero and humming bird are exclusively confined to these gloomy, mysterious cloud-wrapped areas.

THE JICAQUE INDIANS

On top of the Montaña de la Flor at 4,000 feet altitude, the Jicaque (Torrupan) have enclosed an area roughly a mile square with a seven foot stockade of split oak behind which their dwellings have been erected (pl. II, lower). Actually there are two villages separated by the Rio Guarabuqui, their respective stockades ending on opposite banks of that stream. One community is dominated by an elder, Beltrán, who migrated to the present site with his father and mother in 1865. The other group has as its leader the son of the other Indian, Juan, who accompanied Beltrán's parents some seventy-five years ago. Beltrán, now over eighty, is the only survivor of this trek. All the other Jicaques were born in the present locality and, other than what their elders have imparted to them, know nothing of the former habitation of their people.



CROSS-HATCHING SHOWS PROBABLE AREA OF EARLY JICAQUE OCCUPANCY



Close inbreeding must have prevailed, and the effects of sister-brother and cousin-cousin mating for four generations is already to be noted in the stature and mental capacity of some of the group. The beginnings of this refugee colony of Jicaques are among the most curious in the annals of the Central American Indian, and before they can be entirely clarified much of the uncertainty concerning the earlier distribution of the tribes of that area must be overcome.

ENVIRONMENTAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to the original compilations of Thomas and Swanton,⁷ recently further detailed by Johnson,⁸ the Caribbean, or north, coast of Honduras, was dominated in pre-Columbian times by three tribes: Paya, Sumu, and Jicaque. In this era the Miskito nation is not to be associated with its present coastal habitat, as it is a hybrid group developed about 1640 from the miscegenation of the Kukra-Sumus and a contingent of negro slaves.⁹ However, in later years the Miskitos had a marked influence on their neighbors which greatly altered the traditional borders of the indigenous tribes of Honduras and Nicaragua.

The Paya—although too narrowly restricted by Thomas and Swanton—occupied territory from the Caratasca Lagoon, on the east, westward to the Sierra de Esperanza, a range of mountains near Trujillo. The Paya were bordered on the south by

the Sumu who also occupied a narrow strip of the Caribbean coast including Cape Gracias á Dios. Various Sumu sub-tribes, Twahaka, Ulwa, Panamanka, Bawihka and Kukra were widely diffused into the central portions of both Nicaragua and Honduras.¹⁰

Adjoining the Paya, extending, probably, from Rio Aguán (or Roman) along the whole of the coastal territory westward to the Sierra de Omoa, were the Torrupan, more latterly designated Jicaque. Colonial records and missionary reports establish their territory as extending inland to that of the Lencas, including all the present Department of Yoro to the upper reaches of the Rio Comayagua. To the westward, the Jicaque, with the Nahuatlán Pipil and scattered Mayan groups (Toquegua), peopled the fertile Ulúa valley; the Pipil villages of Naçó and Quismistan actually bordering on certain Jicaque settlements in the Sierra de Omoa.

The Jicaque territory, then, at the coming of Columbus in 1502 was bounded on the east by that of the Paya, who speak a related language; on the west by the Maya and Pipil; on the south by the Lenca, who occupied much of the central portion of Honduras, and for a short distance on the southeast, by the Sumu.

From the Bay Islands, which he discovered on July 30, 1502, Columbus sailed to the mainland of Honduras with three native guides, one of whom is specifically named Jumbe by the admiral's son,

Fernando. The party reached Punta Caxinas Bay (now Trujillo) on August 14, and took formal possession on the 17th. There, for the first time, Columbus came in actual contact with the indigines of the mainland. According to Fernando, these natives were quite similar to those found on Guanaja and dressed in like manner, wearing a tunic, a sort of jacket without sleeves, which more or less describes the present garment of the Jicaque. They also used cotton armor, much like the cotton jackets of the Mexicans, sufficiently strong, so observes Fernando, to resist the strokes of the Spanish swords. Nothing, however, of the character of the Indian is reported.

Columbus then continued two degrees eastward to the mouth of a large river in which he anchored. This stream, to which he gave the name Rio de la Posesión, is now called Rio Negro or Tinto. Fernando noted that the Indians here (*i.e.*, the Paya Indians at Rio Negro and eastward toward the Caratasca Lagoon) had not the great forehead height of the Islanders, it being obvious that the frontal areas had been artificially flattened. These natives spoke "several languages," tattooed themselves in various ways and had, moreover, "great holes in the lobes of their ears through which an egg might pass." Hence, this coast was named La Costa de la Oreja, and the Indians, Orejones.

As the explorers progressed toward Cape Gracias á Dios, their Bay Island interpreter found it increasingly difficult to carry on a conversation with

the Indians until, at last, having reached the Cape after a passage made difficult by the October squalls, he was dismissed and sent back to the island of Guanaja. Columbus had reached the end of the Paya territory and had entered the area of the Kukra-Sumu.

Much controversy has arisen as to what linguistic group inhabited the Bay Islands at the time of the coming of Columbus. Conzemius¹¹ argues that since the islands were opposite Jicaque territory, the insular people spoke that language. Lehmann,¹² however, insists, because Spanish missionaries in 1622 took Bay Islanders from Roatan to interpret among the Paya Indians, that they must have been Paya in speech. That the controversy is long and involved is discussed by Strong¹³ in his recent work on the archeology of the Islands. Whatever the ultimate decision, which will be arrived at by deductive reasoning, perhaps, rather than from factual proof, it will be shown in this study that the Jicaque had contact with the insular inhabitants, traded with them and understood their speech.

Lehmann¹⁴ makes a broad grouping of the Sumu and Miskito as close linguistic affiliates of the Talamancan subdivision of the Chibchan stock, with the Paya, Lenca and Jicaque being classed as more remote members. This grouping seems to be sound even though not universally accepted. Conzemius¹⁵ demonstrates at considerable length the close resemblances between the ethnology of the South

American tribes and those of the Caribbean coast of Honduras and Nicaragua, and Spinden¹⁶ insists very strongly that these coastal tribes (Sumu, Paya, Jicaque) are intruders into Central America. He says:

"Indeed all these tribes appear to have been intruders into Central America from some forested portion of South America as is evidenced by their material arts and social institutions. They are fine canoe men, expert hunters and fishers, but poor farmers. Their marriage is of the inbreeding South American type with the cross-cousin as the normal mate. Their ceremonies involve drunkenness in which beers made from various starchy materials are consumed in great quantity. Fermentation is hastened by premastication of bananas, manioc roots, etc., after the South American fashion."

Accumulating evidence, historical, ethnological and archeological, partly explains the presence on the Caribbean coast of tribes with South American affiliations, and it is now possible to trace population shifts, beginning with Mayan cataclysm and the abandonment of Copan, up to the fourteenth century when Uto-aztecán stocks moved south on the Pacific side of Central America to an accompanied northward thrust on the Caribbean coast by tribes stemming from the Talamancan subdivision of Chibchan stock—which would include the Sumu, the hybrid Miskito and the isolated Chibchan-speaking groups,

the Paya, the Lenca and the Jicaque. That the Jicaque do not definitely belong to the maize culture group of Central America is evident in their food. A late eighteenth century vocabulary,¹⁷ although explicit in all else, had no word for tortilla or corn; and the Jicaque, after centuries of contact with that form of food, today prepare it badly and use only a crude tortilla.

The mainland of Honduras was not settled until 1509, seven years after the fourth voyage of Columbus. Encouraged by Ferdinand and Isabella, Alonzo de Ojeda and later, Diego de Nicouessa, formed two settlements along the coast between Darien and Cape Gracias á Dios. In 1524 Cristóval de Olid, an officer under Hernán Cortés, was dispatched to plant a colony in Central America. This he established at the Pipil settlement of Naco, within a Nahuatl colony near the present city of San Pedro Sula, isolated in a sea of Maya-speaking peoples. It was here that Olid, becoming overly impressed with his own power, decided to revolt from the jurisdiction of Cortés.

Cortés, hearing of Olid's plan in good time, dispatched Francisco de las Casas by sea while he later proceeded to the scene of insurrection by his famed march from Mexico to Honduras. Upon his arrival, finding that the loyal las Casas had already beheaded Olid, Cortés continued by means of brigantines to the Spanish colony at Trujillo where fortifications were in progress and labor needed. Bernal Diaz de Cas-

tillo relates that the name of Cortés became so feared and respected among all the inhabitants of Honduras that even the distant tribes of Olanchito, in the Department of Yoro, sent embassies to declare themselves vassals of the emperor. These remote natives were undoubtedly Jicaques.

Once established at Trujillo, Cortés sent out messengers to inform all the native caciques to appear before him. It is related that they knew of his previous conquests to the north and, therefore, addressed him by the Mexican designation "Capitán Malinche." Doña Marina acted as interpreter * during the main conferences with these natives who came from what is accepted as the traditional Jicaque territory. Later the padres accompanying Cortés explained the *doctrina Cristiana* to them through the medium of Nahuatl Indian converts whose language, it is apparent, they understood. Since the Jicaque bordered on the territory of the Nahuatl, Pipil may have been used as a *lingua franca* along the coast, certainly as far as the great Caratasca Lagoon and perhaps to Cape Gracias á Dios, where, it is to be recalled, Jumbe, Columbus' Bay Island interpreter,

* To explain this fact Johnson (see bibliog. ref. 8) hypothesizes an isolated group of Nahuatlean Pipils along the Rio Aguán on the traditional Paya and Jicaque boundary not far from Trujillo. This, if true, would explain how Doña Marina could act as interpreter during the conferences with these Indians. Those who hold that Maya was the *lingua franca* along this coast might, with equal soundness, claim that she spoke Maya to them.

had reached the absolute limit of his understanding of the coastal languages.

After the submission of the caciques to Cortés, he asked that an Indian village be built near the site of Trujillo, and that an embassy be sent to the Island of Guanaja to instruct the inhabitants there to bring food to the colonists at Trujillo. Upon the return of the canoes, one bore a delegation of Bay Island natives who came to solicit aid from Cortés against the slave-making raids of the Spaniards in Cuba. From this, then, it is apparent either that the Indians of the Bay Islands and those of the coast of Trujillo spoke the same language or that both employed a *lingua franca*, and, moreover, that these peoples *were* on good terms.

Because of the delicate political position in which Cortés found himself in Honduras and of threatened movements from Cuba he made no attempt to carry his explorations inland, but he was informed, we learn from his correspondence,¹⁸ that through the few encounters the colonists had had with the inland peoples while seeking food, that these natives ". . . were better disposed than others for peace; for although they had no interpreter to converse with them, they had shown by signs their good will and friendship." Cortés continues, "No doubt that if these people were spoken to by a person who knew their language, they might be easily reduced, although they had on several occasions been ill-used. . . ."

Cortés did, however, visit two communities, Chapagua or Talchinalchapa (also spelled Chompagua and Chaoagua) which is still extant, and Papayeca.* Bernal Diaz specifically identifies the cacique of Chapagua as Quespan. *Pan*, incidentally, is met with frequently in the Jicaque language both as a word and as a suffix; it means "fat." Between Quespan and another chieftain, Mazatl, there arose some dissension through which attacks were made on the colonists forcing Cortés' troops to war upon and capture Mazatl. His execution seemed to have had a salutary effect on the natives for thereafter, as far as the formal records are concerned, no concerted

* Lehmann believes these villages are to be ascribed not to the Jicaques, but to the Payas—"that is, if the original inhabitants of the Bay Islands belong to the Paya Indians"—but that they could not have been Nahuatl. Conzemius, on the contrary, says definitely that these villages were not Paya since their traditions and legends insist that the Paya territory never extended northeast of the Rio Aguán, beyond which the villages of Chapagua and Papayeca were found. He further states that the Indians of these villages "were probably Mexican since Cortés conversed with the messengers of these towns in the idiom of Culua (Mexico)." In the opinion of the present author, this is a misinterpretation of the literature of that encounter, as the interpreters had obviously considerable difficulty in explaining much of the *doctrina Cristiana*. Conzemius mentions that one of the leaders was called Mazatl, which is "deer" in Nahuatl, suggesting that it too is the word for deer in Jicaque. This, again, is in error, since the term is *pus*. There is much confusion, therefore, as to what tribes the villages mentioned by Cortés and Bernal Diaz belonged.

movement against the encroaching Spaniards ever developed.

After the departure of Cortés for Mexico, the governorship of the colony was assumed by Diego López de Salcedo in 1525. Herrera¹⁹ informs us that upon his appointment Salcedo applied himself to ascertain the native religious customs and the mental capacities of the inhabitants of the province, and that he found three principal idols worshipped in the vicinity of Trujillo, in a temple on an island distant some 15 leagues from the city. All the idols had human female form, and were made of a variety of green stone resembling marble. The high priests who officiated at this temple wore their hair long and could not marry. Ranging in distance from 4 to 20 leagues from Trujillo were other places of worship where sacrifices were made to different idols. Salcedo states that these people were not so "polite" as the Mexicans and that they differed little from the people of Hispanola.

These notations are here included because they constitute the only direct contemporary observations. Admittedly, they do little to clarify the linguistic and ethnological maze, although of a certainty, the island 15 leagues from Trujillo, on which a temple was found, must have belonged to the civilization of the Bay Islands, as the Jicaques certainly did not fashion idols of stone, nor had they achieved the high religious plane marked by sacerdotal celibacy.

Salcedo, deciding to move toward the interior for the complete conquest of Honduras, forcibly gathered the natives of Yoro to act as carriers. Oppressive measures continued throughout the march to the interior, and the Indians adopted a scorched-earth policy of defense. So completely were sources of food destroyed that by the time the Spaniards reached Comayagua, they were facing virtual starvation.

In early colonial times the city of Trujillo became the principal outlet for produce from all of Honduras and soon developed into the center of its commerce. Pope Pius II declared its church a cathedral in 1539, and the same year a fort mounting seventeen guns was completed. Completely subjugated, the Jicaques retired more and more to the interior, undoubtedly being called upon continuously for forced labor or to take sides in the civil disorders that flared up within the country during the next hundred years. Although many of the outstanding Spanish chroniclers, Andagoya, García, Palacios, and Motolinía, visited Honduras, none mentions any of the cruder Caribbean tribes, nor is the name Jicaque found among the writings of Gómara, Herrera and Torquemada.

By the end of the seventeenth century Guatemala had become not only the fountain-head of political power in Central America, but the center of ecclesiastical activities, as well. With the power of the Aztecs and Mayas broken and the natives in the main converted, the padres turned their attention to the

ruder tribes of Honduras. It is at this time that the term Jicaque first comes into prominent use.

An expedition known as the Jicaque Mission was undertaken in 1609 by Frs. Estavan Verdelete and Juan de Monteagudo. As a previous expedition had failed because of inadequate military support, this one was augmented by twenty-five soldiers under the military leadership of Captain Alfonso de Daza. It proceeded toward the Jicaque territory, but upon the Guayape river, where the party was actually among the Paya and not the Jicaque, it was set upon by the natives and massacred. This martyrdom of Verdelete and his followers stimulated the holy men in Guatemala to carry out the conversion of the Jicaques. The crusade was poorly inaugurated by Espino, who pontifically declares:²⁰

“Declaracion, para que no ayga confusion. El P. P. Fr. Estevan Berdelete y su companero Fr. Ioan de Monteagudo, fueron muertos por los indios Xicaques, por la fe de Iesu Christo, en le rio de Guayape, rio caudaloso por juntarse con el rio de Guayambre; está abaxo del valle de Olancho, adonde yo estube” (p. 368).

Espino, who bore the impressive title of “Predicador Custodio habitual desta Santa Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Ieses de Guatemala, y Comissario Apostolico de la Reduccion de los Indios Xicaques de la Taguisgalpa,” was born in Nicaragua. In this region Matagalpa was spoken, and he under-

stood both this and the Lenca tongues. It is indeed unfortunate that the "arte y libros formados en aguel idioma barbaro," which he says he prepared, and the grammar and *doctrina Cristiana* he admits to have written in their vernacular, are either lost or buried in the mass of unsorted manuscripts in Guatemala.

Espino's statement that the Indians lived on the Rio Guayambre, between the 14th and 15th parallels on the 86th, should be noted here with some emphasis. This stream could not have been the Guayambre, but rather the Guayape or the Upper Patuca and is thus in Paya, not Jicaque, territory. He further states that the natives were at war with the "indios caribes llamados Taguacas" (Twahakas, a sub-tribe of the Sumu) living then, as now, on the Patuca at its conjunction with the Rio Wampu. Lehmann's conclusion that the term Jicaque* had the meaning of wild-barbarian, and was applied alike to Lenca, Torrupan, Sumu and Paya, seems to warrant general acceptance.

It would seem that the use of the name Jicaque was restricted to apply specifically to the Torrupan people between 1695 and 1698 when Padre Melchor

* Writing more recently, Doris Stone in her chapter on The Ulua Valley and Lake Yojoa (The Maya and their neighbors, p. 389) quotes Vásquez and Molina in believing Jicaque to be a corruption of the Nahuatl *chicatic* meaning "former or older inhabitants," and considers the term used through the early history of Honduras to designate warrior-pagans.

Lopez labored in their territory and instituted the mission station of Luquigue located near the municipality of Yorito, five miles southwest of Yoro.²¹

From this permanent mission station various Franciscan fathers spread their influence into the territory of the Jicaques of Yoro. Sometime after the year 1720, Fr. Josef Fernandez succeeded in establishing two centralized villages in the environs of the Ulua Valley. The first, San Josef de Guina, was located on the Rio Guaymas, a small tributary of the Ulua arising in the heights of Sierra Nombre de Dios; the second, Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, was a more important settlement located midway between San Pedro Sula and Omoa at the junction of the Chaloma and Chamelecón rivers (see map). Upon the death of the padre who lived to be ninety-eight, the village of San Josef de Guina became disorganized and the inhabitants whom he had catechised so industriously forgot his teachings.

That the Jicaque town of Candelaria existed for a considerable period after its founding is established by reference to a royal decree approving the measures taken by the President of Guatemala on his trip to the fortress of Omoa in 1770.

Although San Pedro is only twenty leagues from this fortification, the decree states that there is not a single farm or village "within that great burdensome distance with the exception of the settlement called Candelaria, consisting of seventeen huts. The Council, thus approves the idea of settling twenty-

five families from Tencoa and Gracias near to the settlement of Candelaria, for it contains such a limited number of Indians that for the Royal Service it was decided to promote the increase of population.”²²

As further evidence that the community was still in existence nearly a half century later, it is felt that a considerable quotation from Cockburn’s “Narrative”²³ be interpolated at this point:

“Soon as the day broke, we began to ascend a high Mountain from whence we saw a great Gulf, called Gulf Dulce in the North Sea. Here we met with an Indian Man and Boy, which they call Lookouts, their Business being to spy the Motions of other Indians, whom their own People are at War with. Shortly after, we met with another Indian Man and Boy running with great Swiftness, these belonged to Henricus Johnson, and Pedro Polias, who keep them to run on Errands to the Spanish Governors, with whom they hold Intelligence. They told us, they had been with a Present to the Governor of Comayagua, and were returning to their Masters. This Evening we came to Candiliero, where the Inhabitants of the Place (being all Indians) flocked about us, as in Amazement, and brought us before their King, who was sitting on a Carpet, spread on the Ground, in great State after his Manner. He was surrounded by his Guards, holding Spears in their Hands, a great many. He demanded of us, with great Civility and affable Behaviour (in broken

Spanish) from whence we came, and where we were going; to the first I answer'd, but to the last Part of the Question said, I could not tell, but that we were in Hopes to have found a Ship here bound for the Havanna; upon which he gave us to understand, there was no Prospect of meeting with any shipping here, nor could he (he said) support such a Company as we, but that he would order a Person in the Morning to put us on our Way to a Town called St. Peter's Solia [San Pedro Sula] and for our present Refreshment, commanded that two roasted Plantains should be given to each of us, with Skins to rest on that Night, which we thankfully received.

These Indians only cover their private Parts, the King himself having nothing on but a Pair of Drawers; but when they go to rest they have a Covering made of Cotton, which they sometimes wrap themselves in, lying on a Hide spread on the Ground before a Fire; they rise often in the Night to smoke and eat; for they are not able to rest long because of the Vermine, which are intolerable, tho' they use all the Means possible to keep them off, by suffering nothing to grow near their Houses, which are made of Cane covered with Leaves.

This Town of Candiliero is pleasantly situated, being surrounded with fine Coco Nut and Plantain Trees, which are beautiful to the Eye; the Fruit of which are what the Inhabitants chiefly live on. Plantains are always seen on level Ground, growing in Thickets or rather Groves, but are commonly called by the Natives Plantain Walks; their Bodies are of a clear green, and smooth as

Glass, being very strait, and about twenty Foot high. The Fruit grows at the Top and is covered with great Leaves, which are eight or ten Foot long, and four Foot broad, and are also very useful to the Indians. The Trunk is about three Foot in Circumference, but so tender that a Man may cut it down with one Stroke of a Knife; and this is the Way commonly made use of by the Indians when they want the Fruit; they having no other Way to come at it; and after a Tree is cut down in this Manner, another will arise from the same Root, and in a twelve Month's Time come to full Perfection, bearing Fruit as the former.

Early in the Morning (according to the King's instruction) we sat out from Candiliero, with our new Guide, the others having left us as soon as we first entered that Town. But, however, to make themselves some small amends for their Trouble, they thought fit to strip Mr. Rounce of his bloody Shirt at parting. The same Evening we came to St. Peter's [San Pedro Sula] a Spanish Town, and were carried before Deputy-Governor, who, after asking us some Questions, said he should be obliged to commit us to Prison till he could send to the Governor of Comayagua, to know what he should do with us. The only Favour we entreated of him, was, that he would give us something to eat; upon which, he said, he would suffer one of us to go about the Town to collect Charity for the rest. This Office I was obliged to take upon me, because there was none of our Company besides, that could speak a Word of Spanish. The first Expedition I made this Way, I got some Plantains

and the Head of a Buffaloe, with which I hasted to my Fellow-Sufferers, whom I found in Prison, lying on the Ground among strange Sorts of Vermine, and making bitter Complaints of their Wounds."

The numerous settlements along the Caribbean coast between the rivers Lean and Cuero seemed to have preoccupied most of the colonial investigators. In 1745 Navarro speaks of the Rio Lean being forty-six leagues from the Gulf of Honduras, and continues: "desde es Rio de Ulua hasta el Puerta de Truxillo con mas de 40 leaguea la tierra andentro habitadas de indios llaman Xicaques que nonestan reducidos ni son danios."²⁴ It is probable that most of the Jicaques, now timid and suspicious of their conquerors, were peaceful enough and collected sarsaparilla, rubber and peltry for purposes of exchange with the Spaniards for desired articles of civilized manufacture.

In 1749, Ramon de Anguiano, Gobernador Intendente de Honduras, visited the coast of Trujillo and the dwellings of the Jicaques on the Cuero and Lean rivers. From his impressions, he drafted a plan and forwarded it to the fiscal authorities under the title: "Un nuevo proyecto para reducir á la fe á los yndios Xicakes estableciendo con ellos el comercio para utilidad de la Real Hacienda."²⁵

In sum, the idea was to withdraw the Indians from the Lean and Cuero drainages, groups who were under the domination of the mission at Luquique,

and to form them into larger villages existing under the economy of the Real Hacienda. De Anguiano's predecessor, Alexo García y Conde, had proposed to take these Indians from their mountains by force of arms to bring them under more immediate supervision of the missionaries. The mountains of Lean were populated with a considerable number of Indians, the exact number of which the padres of Luquique could form no idea. This territory the Governor believed to comprise not less than seven hundred square leagues and to contain about sixty-eight villages with a total population of 12–13,000 Indians. Because in the past they had been brought by force into the mission stations, the Indians had timidly retired farther into the mountains, giving up the commerce once maintained with the *ladinos*. Feeling that the Indians did not wish to be separated from the mountains to which they were accustomed, because by mixing with the *ladinos* and whites they contacted fevers and colds that quickly depopulated their settlements, Governor de Anguiano suggested to the Council that it take under advisement the building of seven churches, each parish to have forty-two associated native dwellings. The plan contemplated the reoccupation of the villages organized a century previous by Fr. Josef Fernandez, two of which, San Josef de Guina and Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria in the Ulua Valley, have already been mentioned, and to reestablish the mission station at

Cangelica or Cadena on the Rio Lean at the point to which launches and canoes could be brought.

He further suggested that fifteen poor *ladino* families could be placed there to be employed as contractors for the Indians and, of course, during the raids of the Miskito Indians, to act as soldiers.

The proposal, however, was not carried through due to the exhaustion of treasury funds.

There exist, further, in the national archives of Guatemala a number of documents²⁶ all pertinent to this scheme, but almost without exception they deal with the expenses, the cost of interpreters, the types of trade material expended upon the Jicaques along the Rio Lean and farther inland in the Department of Yoro. In none of the one hundred pages of closely written material that deals with "la conquista y mision de Indios Xicaques" is there anything but an exhaustive account of these miscellaneous expenditures. No word of the native customs and language. This lack is indeed maddening, for the authorities were dealing with the actual Torrupan-Jicaque at a time when the missionaries were working among the Jicaque of Yoro.

Thus, according to the testimony of the governor of Honduras who made a map of the central Yoro area, the population of the Jicaques of this district alone was 12–13,000 with no mention made as to the rest of the tribe which extended deep into the Ulua Valley and over to the Sierra de Omoa. This figure is believed to be very high, because the general in-

fertility of Honduras caused, as it still causes, the Indian families to be widely separated. Depopulation had, however, not set in, despite the Indians' two-century-old contact with the Spaniards. So it was, seemingly, the construction of the Fortress of Omoa which finally disseminated the flourishing population of Jicaques in the Ulua Valley.

This fortress, commenced in 1752 under the reign of the Captain-General of Guatemala, Don José Vasquez Prego, required over twenty years to build at the staggering cost of 1,158,317 gold pesos. It is concerned in the history of the Jicaques only insofar as they were employed in its construction and their subsequent decimation by measles, smallpox and catarrh contracted through association with both Spaniard and *ladino*. The Jicaque were employed to bring down the massive stones that form the bastions of the fort, and in the construction of the subterranean road connecting it with the highway to Galan, extended later to San Pedro Sula.

To defend this road (upon which the Jicaque village of Candaleria was the only habitation between Omoa and San Pedro Sula) twenty-five *ladino* families were imported to supplement the Indians. The long list of construction expenses for the fort and its roads contains many items of disbursements to Indians for labor and for carrying food to the workmen. Although their number diminished greatly throughout this construction the Jicaques were not completely wiped out, as a certain Maradiaga was

able to obtain a vocabulary from two Jicaques of El Palmar, a village near the city of San Pedro Sula in 1890. Membreño, who used it, said that the language had not been studied before due to the distrust of the Indians, and that during Maradiaga's conference with the two, other Jicaques surrounded the house fearful that some harm would befall their fellows.²⁷

Until a few years ago there were also some rather primitive Jicaques living in or near the village of Santa Rita located in the upper Ulua Valley at the base of the Montaña Quemada. All of this area is now occupied by the banana farms of the United Fruit Company. On inquiry, the writer was told that these Indians, clearly described as Jicaques, were wont, at one time, to come to town dressed in bark-cloth clothes and to carry bow and arrows.*

A report sent in 1784 from the Intendente of Honduras through Guatemala to Spain mentions certain Jicaque settlements along the banks of the fertile Rio Lean and into the mountains of Mulia (now called Sierra de Nombre de Dios). Rio Lean is a relatively short stream, arising in these mountains with numerous smaller tributaries. The towns of Cangelica, Uluacito, San Juan Benque and Texiguat are mentioned. Farther, toward the Caribbean, the

* From a study of the vocabularies it is quite evident that the Jicaques occupying the Ulua region were of a sub-tribe of those of Yoro, and that there are several distinct differences in their language.

settlements are noted as being less populous. The Jicaques, apparently, traded with the Spaniards of Cataguna, but were at war with roving bands of Miskito Indians, who, with the English, had settled at Rio Negro and had made constant trading expeditions up the coast. Generally, the Jicaques remained at peace with the Spanish colonists and were dedicated, in the main, to the production of cacao.

The Jicaque territorial connection with the Caribbean coast was finally broken sometime in the early part of the nineteenth century. The hybrid Black Caribs of San Vincent gave the English authorities so much trouble in their contest with the French that, at a reputed cost of \$5,000,000, England moved 5,000 of them to the Island of Roatan. The Spanish authorities then invited these new comers—forcibly, one may guess—to settle on the mainland, whence they spread rapidly along the coast from Puerto Cortés to Ciriboya. The frictions of this new competitive contact undoubtedly caused the Jicaque to retire away from the coast and into the deep mountain recesses of Yoro. Today they have no word for "canoe," for "sea," nor for anything pertaining to that body of water. Those deep in the interior do not even know such things exist.

The largest inland concentration of Jicaques was in the Department of Yoro where Squier²⁸ estimated their number to be 7,000. Squier, however, falls into the same general error of using the term Jicaque loosely to include all the "wild" Indians of Hon-

duras. This fault is quite evident when he places them in the mountains and river sources between the coast and the Valley of Olancho, stating that Catacamas and a few other smaller villages near Juticalpa, Department of Olancho, are inhabited exclusively by Christianized Payas and Jicaques. His insistence that the actual Jicaques, the Torrupan, originally inhabited the district between the Rio Ulua and the Rio Tinto and that they were probably once spread out much farther across the plains of Olancho and into the Department of Nueva Segovia, Nicaragua, is definitely incorrect. That territory was inhabited by Payas and a Sumu sub-tribe, the Twahaka. In another article²⁹ Squier deals more thoroughly with the Torrupan, whose number he estimated to be over 5,000 in the Department of Yoro and over 1,000 in Santa Barbara, the westernmost Department of Honduras, in which the towns of San Pedro Sula, El Palmar and the ancient Nahuatl-Pipil settlement of Naco are located. Here he found the Jicaque living in settlements of from seventy to one hundred individuals, each ruled by a local chieftain or elder.

About 1855 a Spanish missionary, Fr. Manuel Jesus de Subirana, took over the administration of the ancient Jicaque mission of Liquique and opened an intensive personal campaign to improve the life of his native charges. Habel, who visited the country during the time of the missionary's first efforts, recorded enough of interest concerning the Jicaques to quote the following:³⁰

" . . . Further on, in the Department of Yoro, I met two Xicagues, who seemed to have been little affected by civilization and were yet in a primitive state. In Yoro, the capital of the department of that name, were twenty Xicagues working for their *curador*; and from others who came to the town I collected a vocabulary of their language. "The Xicagues differ in the form of their bodies from all the other tribes of Central America. Their stature, on the average, being equal to that of Europeans, is greater than that of the other tribes. Their skin is of a lighter color, and their features resemble more closely those of the Caucasians, having a more pleasant and intelligent expression than any other tribe of this region known to me. Both of the sexes wear a kind of apron, made of the inner bark of the Caoutchouc [sic] tree. That of the women reaches around the waist and the ends hang down from the hips to the knees; that of the men is but a foot wide, with a slit in the middle, through which they put the head, the front and back part reaching from the shoulders down to the knees. These two flaps are attached to the body by a strap of the same material fastened around the waist. By another narrower strap, tied around the head, they secure the long black hair, parted in front and floating down to the shoulders.

"It was but recently that the Xicagues were christened and collected into permanent settlements. This was effected by the efforts of a Spanish missionary, who gloried in having erected, during the eight years of his labours before my

arrival,* twenty-two churches, near which he induced many thousands of Indians whom he had christened to settle . . . The Xicagues are under great obligation to this man, who has liberated them from a kind of slavery, in which many of them were kept in spite of the laws of the country by which slavery was abrogated . . . ”

Subirana began first to gather the scattered communities and attempted to weld them into villages. Up to the time of the padre’s advent, the Jicaques appear to have resisted assimilation and were more or less pure in blood and culture. They were scattered throughout the mountains of Yoro, the Sierras de Pijol and de Sulaco and throughout long valleys between these mountains, especially along the tributaries of the Rio Cuyamapa (see map). Here, their mode of existence appears to have been much the same as before the Spanish discovery. They did not weave garments, but made them from the inner bark of the fig tree. They grew mostly tubers, the sweet manioc and yams, corn being but little used; and their hunting was confined to the lesser animals which they killed with the bow and arrow and blowgun.

Subirana’s plan to consolidate the scattered communities into villages seems to have been well re-

* Dr. Habel left New York in April 1862. If the missionary began his work eight years before Habel’s coming, that would place 1854 as the year Subirana first made his appearance among the Jicaques following his earlier work among the Miskitos and Payas.

ceived and the Jicaques still reverence his memory. Although he did not attempt other than a slow process of change from their own economy to that of nineteenth century Honduras, he did insist that the women do away with single bark-cloth wrapper and clothe themselves in skirt and blouse, imitating the typical provincial Hondurean dress of that era. The men retained their curious poncho-like garment, particularly in the poorer communities. Subirana gradually taught them to diversify their agriculture and introduced corn among them.

The greatest concentrations of these villages were only a few miles from Yorito and fifteen miles from Yoro, the capital of the Department. The compact community Subirana formed in the valley upon which he bestowed his own name, a five-mile-long fertile, flat plain (on which, incidentally, there is an extensive Chorotegan culture site) seems to have prospered through the next four years. However, the idea of collectivism was their doom, since it made them easy prey to forced labor. Sarsaparilla, then highly prized in the United States and Europe as a mild tonic and alterative and as a beverage, was exported in great quantities by Honduras. The vine grew principally in the cloud-forests and humid zones of the mountains of Yoro, and the governor of that Department, Quiroz, sent troops into the Jicaque villages established by Subirana, and forced the Indians to go into the mountains, collect the vines, strip them of their sharp prongs, fold them into

bundles, and carry them to Trujillo. The natives, always most susceptible to catarrh, contracted it quickly, and the infection spread rapidly throughout the villages. Subirana, according to the records in the Department of Yoro, forcibly resisted these labor drafts and appealed to the higher authorities for their cessation. Quiroz was admonished and temporarily restrained, but not before the village populations had been severely decimated by the scourge, and most of them deserted by natives as they fled again into the still remoter mountains.

In 1864 Padre Subirana died in the beautiful valley bearing his name and a Jicaque named Pedro reverently carried the body to the town of Yoro where it was interred.

Soon after the death of Subirana, Governor Quiroz reinstated his system of forced labor, and the communities so carefully built up by the missionary became almost entirely depopulated. Soldiers sent into the village of Santa Marta, situated at some 4,500 feet altitude ten miles southeast of Yorito and Luquigue, found that most of the Indians had fled. The troops followed the flight into the small valley of Gurrapara, in the heart of the cloud-forest of the southern end of the Sierra de Sulaco, where Pedro, the same Jicaque who had carried the body of Subirana to Yoro, resisted the soldiers and is believed to have killed one or more of them. Realizing that the Government's retaliation against this overt act

would be severe, Pedro, his wife and two sons, and another Indian, Juan, with his wife, taking no more than they could carry, set out across the Sierra de Sulaco. They travelled down into the valley of the river of that name and headed west into the uninhabited region of the Montaña de la Flor, a distance of thirty miles from their last home, where they founded the present settlement. All the individuals who now comprise this isolated colony, with the exception of the oldest inhabitant, Beltrán, Pedro's son, were born there. They know nothing of the Jicaques that were left behind; nor do the Hispanized Jicaques know anything of them.*

* This history of the Jicaque gathered by the author, was the result of a series of investigations which all meshed together into a more or less definite and convincing pattern. While searching for the quetzal bird, Gurrapara was visited. Although at that time the author had only the rumor of these primitive Jicaques living in Montaña de la Flor, he gathered all the material possible about the Hispanicized groups. Later in August 1937, a celebration occurred in the Cathedral of Yoro, where the remains of Padre Manuel Jesus de Subirana were exhumed and placed in a new vault. During this time, information was obtained from some of the oldest inhabitants. In Montaña de la Flor, Beltrán, the only survivor of the trek, remembered some details (he was a boy, then, about five years old) and recalled things that his father had told him. Of the greatest importance were the details given by Jesus Lopez, a *ladino* ninety years old, who was a young man at the time of the coming of the Jicaques in the region where he had a rancho. He filled in some of the gaps, since he knew the original Pedro, the elder who founded the colony.

PHYSIQUE AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Jicaque are below middle height, ranging in extremes between 149 and 161 cm., averaging 156 cm. It is interesting to compare this finding with Habel's earlier quoted statement of 1862, "Their stature, on the average equal to that of Europeans, is greater than that of other tribes," and to conjecture on the possibility of four generations of close inbreeding alone accounting for their present small stature.

The torsos of the males are both well developed and proportioned. The Jicaque women, who are always fully dressed and carefully guarded, could not be submitted to measurement, but, generally, they seem to be of equal height to the males and are somewhat more heavily built. The Jicaque skin color, as Habel observed, is much lighter than that of other tribes and approaches a light copper tone. The shoulders are broad, the neck short, the cheek bones very prominent, the head brachycephalic, and the lips thick. The nose is convex and small, the nostrils being wide and flattened. Eyes, somewhat oblique, giving a decidedly Mongoloid caste to the face, are dark, but they lack the flashing intelligence of other tribes studied by the writer (pl. III, upper).

Coarse black hair is abundant on the head, but sparse on other parts of the body, although relatively thick about the pubes and the axillae. Depilation is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to remove

hairs that grow widely separated on the face. Although, according to Habel, the men wore their hair long—"By another narrower strap tied around the head, they secure the long black hair, parted in front and floating down to the shoulders"—today the men crop their hair to form a heavy "bob" at the ears, only the women permitting theirs to grow. As far as could be discovered the hair is never combed, the long tresses of the women being merely tied. There is no evidence of personal vanity among the Jicaque, and they appear to lack that universal primitive urge toward self-beautification.

The Jicaque seem to be generally robust and long lived. Beltrán, the oldest member of the community, states that he made the trek to the tribe's present locality with his father at a date which is approximated at 1866. Beltrán was then five years of age, which would make him seventy-nine at the time he was interviewed; and while he showed obvious signs of advancing years, and complained about his physical condition, as do all old people, he was seemingly well and active. The whole of the community shows the same robustness.

One of the singular characteristics of the Jicaque is their addiction to pipe smoking. Without exception everyone of the community smokes a pipe. These they make for themselves, fashioning the small bowl after a model they got from some source, and igniting the tobacco by means of flint and steel. In the stockaded villages on the Montaña de la Flor

none of the Jicaque chews tobacco, as do the members of the present Hispanicized groups. Anguiano speaks of the custom of the Jicaque in the eighteenth century chewing green tobacco in combination with lime made from snails' shells: ". . . teniendo en la boca el yute, ques es la oja del tabaco verde, mascada y amasada con la cal que produce un caracol del mismo nombre, formando de ambos simples una pasta con que creen librarse del dicho contagio [calentura]."³¹

No deformities are to be observed among the Jicaque. They practice no form of bodily mutilation; the women not even piercing their ears. The statement by Membreño that they have six and seven digits on a foot and sometimes on a hand is decidedly misinformative. He may have observed some isolated cases of polydactylism, but certainly such anomalies could not have been as common as his statement would lead the reader to suppose.

CLOTHING AND BODY DECORATION

The dress of the male consists of a tunic made from cotton material obtained from *ladino* traders, in the form of a poncho, twenty-four inches broad, which is slipped over the head and allowed to fall down below the knees (pls. III, lower; V, VI). This garment was formerly made exclusively from the inner bark of the ficus tree but, although many of the men still use the bark-cloth tunic, the fig tree is

becoming so scarce that cheap cotton sheeting is rapidly supplanting the native material. All tunics whether of cotton or bark are held together by a sash of bark, for which there is a general preference. Little change, indeed, is to be noted in the dress of the Jicaque today and that reported by Habel as seen in Yoro in 1862.

In the sash is carried the inevitable machete, which the Indian is seldom without, and from it is suspended the important pouch or bag made from monkey, anteater or tapir skin. In this are kept pipe, tobacco, flint and steel, and other small items that may be necessary to the work immediately in prospect. There is little variation in the individual dress of the Jicaque, and from the scarce casual references by the early conquerors and the descriptions of Habel it would seem that the men's costume of today may be regarded as their ancient one.

The Jicaque women, in contrast, dress in the garments prescribed for them by Fr. Subirana. The primitive bark-cloth wrapper of the past has been superceded by a simple blouse and skirt, similar to that worn by the colonial *ladino* women of 1850 (pl. IV), the cloth for which is obtained through trade.

The hair of the women is worn long and tied and is without decoration. Both sexes go barefooted, and no Jicaque was observed to wear shoes even when, as in Yoro, he has donned the clothes of the *ladino*.

DECORATION

The present Jicaque use no decoration of any kind. Neither while clearing their garden areas nor when preparing fishing or hunting expeditions, is there any change to be noted in their dress or their bodies. Achiote dye, which almost all primitive Indians of tropical America use in some form or another for decoration or protection, is not employed in any form by the Jicaque.

DWELLINGS

In the two main villages the dwellings are located behind a seven-foot palisade which encloses jointly an area roughly a mile square. This stockade, incidentally, presents only a formal idea of protection, as it can be easily scaled (pl. II, lower). However, it is a direct challenge to trespass and the visiting trader respects the boundary and is careful not to force an entrance. In the western section, presided over by the elder, Beltrán, there is a single entrance in the palisade, a large gate behind which are clustered eight dwellings about forty feet apart. Jicaque homes were once separated from each other by distances of a half-mile or so, but since the time of the missionaries they seem to have continued a sort of village economy. There are still dwellings scattered throughout the montaña, due, mostly, to the fact that the colony has outgrown the original limitations of the stockade.

The house, usually forty feet square, is composed of a wall of pine or oak uprights bound together by two courses of heavy lianas lashed at intervals (pl. V), and reinforced across the top by three horizontal rafters from which drying foodstuffs are hung. The thatched roof, which rises to a central peak, is made from the suyate palm, the thatching being well executed. A roof usually lasts for ten years without replacement (pl. IV, lower).

On opposite sides of the house are doors made from solid pieces of cedar. These entrances are narrow but the full height of the side walls. The house interior is divided into disorganized units. Even the most rudimentary fireplaces are lacking, and fires burn in several places in the middle of the packed mud floor—all with the primitive three-log Y arrangement. Sleeping racks are made of split balsa wood and are raised on racks some two feet off the ground. In Fidelio's house, partitions of cedar actually separate the sleeping racks into male and female departments, although this arrangement, since circumstances do not permit the exercise of a fulsome polygamy, is merely formal. In most of the other dwellings the racks are mere bits of wood laid side by side, sometimes covered with the skin of a deer or tapir.

Bark-cloth blankets are used for covering at night, as, at 4,000 feet, the temperature often drops nearly to the freezing point in the months of December and January. Indoors, the Indians mostly squat before

the fire or sit directly on the ground. Pine torches are used for illumination. Houses are dark and very filthy. Dogs are usually tied to one of the supporting uprights, and their feces add to the general stench of the interior. Corn, beans and tobacco hang from the attic rafters in great masses. Other vegetal food staples, yuca, camotes, and yams, however, are buried outside, as these tubers spoil quickly if permitted to remain in contact with the air. At one side of the room, resembling a ludicrous coat hanger, the repository frame for hunting amulets is suspended. Skulls of monkeys, pigs, deer, agoutis, etc. are stuck on the end of small sticks as offerings to future successes. No good hunting, it is explained, could be expected were the crania of animals previously killed not retained. Hammocks are not used, nor is any sort of infant cradle found, babies being merely wrapped and swathed in cotton cloths. A small stool is constructed, but there are but few of these in the entire community.

Outside the house, propped against the side wall, are found the hollow oak trunks in which the Jicaque cultivate colonies of the stingless honey bee. This species (*Trigona (Trigona) fulviventris* GUERIN) is widely distributed in Central America, and colonies are brought from nests found in the forest to the villages where they are propagated for both wax and honey (pl. VI).

COOKING AND PREPARATION OF FOOD

Since the Indians are most suspicious and extremely timid, it was not possible to be present during mealtime; in consequence all the processes in the preparation of food were not observed. The Jicaque no longer manufacture their cooking vessels, but employ clay pots obtained from the *ladinos* by trade or purchase. As is typical of Central and South American natives, vegetable or animal foods are boiled or stewed and if no flesh food is available the starch foods are eaten alone with hot chile peppers.

Salt, obtained only by purchase from the *ladinos*, is never used during the actual processes of cooking, but is placed on a banana leaf during the meal and is taken sparingly.

Bananas are cooked green either in the coals or else boiled with yuca or camotes. Three types of bananas are grown, but the *plantano macho* (*Musa paradisiaca*) is much preferred and more generally used. Flesh foods consist of monkey, deer, agouti, paca, wild pig, tapir, and armadillo, which latter is generally relished. With little exception flesh food is prepared only in the form of a stew.

Although the Jicaque have bordered the Mayas and, in the Sierra de Omoa, the Nahuatl-Pipil colony of Naco for centuries, they have never adopted the neighboring custom of preparing tortillas from corn, nor have they developed the metate, although many are found in excavating the Chorotegan mounds in

the regions of their traditional dwellings. The introduction of the tortilla was due to the missionaries who prevailed upon them to plant corn. Although the Jicaque seem early to have known how to make tamales, pozol, pinol, and stol out of maize, they have only recently learned to make tortillas. Their metates are crude, usually just large stones made hollow by the action of water, and the mano is no more than a large, rounded water-smoothed rock. Corn is boiled and swollen by the use of ash, but from the lack of dexterity in handling the grain, and from the clumsiness of the metate and the pottery cooking plate, it is evident that the tortilla is a comparatively new arrival among the Jicaque, and that the basis of their indigenous vegetal food economy is centered in yuca, camotes and the like.

AGRICULTURE

As the Jicaque neither weave textiles, nor engage in ceramic manufactures, the woman's work in the community is divided between domestic and agricultural activities, although the latter labor is not wholly hers, the man spending a considerable amount of time in the fields.

The only art practiced with any frequency is basketry, but it is desultory, seasonal and not highly developed. Although there is no lack of vines, creepers and epiphytic plants which might be employed, one is used almost exclusively. This is a tall reed (*Arthostylidium racemiflorum* STEUD.) found

growing sometimes to a height of twenty feet. Both men and women split these reeds during the evening hours, but the manufacture of baskets is purely a male activity. The baskets are amphora-shaped, strongly made specimens. The larger ones, now used for storing corn, are three feet high (pl. VIII, lower).

Among the group on Montaña de la Flor agriculture is far-flung. Their industry is truly amazing in view of the fact that, compared with the Paya, Sumu and Miskito, they do not seem to have been traditionally very good farmers. The Jicaque gardens, or *milpas*, are made in the humid rain forest above the pine-oak regions of their dwellings. The men precede the women, who cultivate the crops, in the work of clearing the garden areas by felling trees and burning brush in the dry season and by planting in the wet season. Corn, beans and peanuts are usually grown together in the larger *milpas*. In smaller patches camotes and other tubers, tobacco and sugar-cane are raised, although the Jicaque does not employ the latter as a food, except to extract juice from the stalks. In separate plantations their main food, yuca, is grown alone. This is the sweet variety (*Manihot esculenta* CRANTZ) that is raised throughout the whole of the Mosquito Coast, except among the Black Caribs who grow the species containing prussic acid.

Plantings of other items, important to tribal and individual economy, are also made around the dwell-

ings. Various tubers (*Dioscorea* sp.); cotton plants (*Gossypium* sp.) used only for the occasional spinning of a crude, thick sewing thread; chile (*Capsicum* sp.); the jicaro (*Crescentia cujete* L.), from which are obtained the small gourds for dishes, are here found in irregular patches with no one section devoted to any particular plant. In the more open sections between their dwellings, oranges are extensively grown along with guava, mangos and ficus trees from which latter bark clothing is fabricated. Lately, since their corn patches have yielded decreasing crops due to too constant planting, the Jicaque have taken to raising coffee along the shaded banks of the Rio Guarabuqui. This is sold to the traders who come from Orica, a town some ten miles to the northwest.

Because corn and the tortilla are so necessary to the economy of the interior of Honduras, the erstwhile plentiful crop of the Jicaque—which he grew but seldom ate—was at one time most important to the *ladino* population of the none too fertile regions surrounding Orica. Even though the maize crop is now greatly lessened, and trading in it has become desultory, in 1928 it was still so important to the valley peoples that a governmental decree safeguarding the cultivated lands of the Jicaque from any trespass was executed. This, so far as can be ascertained, is the first and most direct legislation protecting any Indian group in Central America from outside encroachment.

All the trading is accomplished in a special house built some distance from the main palisaded village. The building is a roofed, open structure containing an attic in which visiting traders may sleep. It constitutes the only artery through which a non-native can deal with the Indians, as only on rare occasions do they travel to the city.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing play a most important part in the life of the Jicaques. There exists, of course, the necessity of augmenting their yuca-corn-camote diet but, aside from this need there is a deep interest in the hunt itself. There seems to be no taboo against women joining the hunt, as they accompany the men and act as beaters, driving the game toward the waiting hunters. Formerly, hunting weapons were the blow-gun, lance, and bow and arrow; today, fire-arms have replaced the lance and bow. The lance, in fact, is forgotten and even the oldest could not recall the Jicaquean word for it. The only remaining primitive concept of hunting among the Jicaque is the previously mentioned use of animal skulls as amulets. The bow and arrow is used by the younger boys and sometimes by the older men when the supply of ammunition for their fire-arms is exhausted, but they are now most ineffectually employed.

The bow is not over four feet in length and is made from the wood of the pacaya palm (*Guilielma* sp.), the bow-string being of wound agave fiber. Two

types of arrows are fashioned, a pointed arrow made from a slender reed and tipped with hard wood of the pacaya palm, and a blunt-headed arrow for stunning birds or small game, which is merely a slender reed shaft dipped in black beeswax. These were formerly carried in a sort of quiver made of puma skin.

The blow-gun, however, has not followed the lance and the bow into discard. It is still to be found in general use even among the Hispanicized Jicaques of Yoro, and it remains an effective weapon despite the fact that only clay pellets are used as projectiles. No information could be obtained that poisoned * darts were ever employed, nor is there any certainty that ammunition other than pellets was ever used.

The tube is made from a branch of a tree called *pom* by the Jicaque and generally known locally as *mogotillo* (*Saurauia Englesingii* STANDL.). The tree appears usually in the well wooded areas of the humid regions above the pine and oak forests, and is notable for the straight growth of its branches. A branch some seven or eight feet in length is cut from the tree and allowed to dry. Branches slightly out of plumb are straightened by first being soaked in water and then bent between two tree trunks.

* The Jicaque had a general word for poison, however, *matajala*, as given in the eighteenth century vocabulary from Rio Lean. It is said, too, that the Miskito Indians used the juice of the manchineel tree (*Hippomane mancinella* L.) but the writer has never seen this tree in Honduras.

The pith constitutes about one-third of the diameter and, when thoroughly dried, is removed by a most ingenious method. The Indian procures a sharp pronged vine a quarter of an inch in thickness which is aptly named "rabo de iguana" by the *ladino*, due to its similarity to the terminal of the tail of the iguana. This vine (*Mimosa hondurana* BRITTON) also grows in the humid zones of the montaña and is brought down in long lengths and, while still green, is rammed through the pith-center of the branch selected for the blow-gun. By twisting and turning the vine like an augur, the entire length of the pith is drilled through, when a larger vine (*Equisentum giganteum* L.) is substituted to complete the dislodgment of the entire core. Due to the rotating motion of the borings, the surfaces appear to be rifled like a gun barrel. One end of the blowpipe is then tapered to fit the mouth. This weapon has no separate cup or tubular mouthpiece, nor is there a sight at its distal end (pl. VII).

The small clay pellets used as ammunition are prepared also with great precision and in an ingenious manner. A circular area, the exact size of the bore of the blow-gun, is traced on the broad surface of a large snail shell, which is then drilled through by means of a small knife until, by careful measurement, the aperture is the exact circumference of the lumen.

The ammunition is fashioned by the men and the boys, usually at night when there is little else to do,

by rolling small masses of moist clay between the palms of the hands until they are of a size to pass through the gauge-hole in the shell. The shell edges not alone insure an exact size and shape, but smooth the pellets by scraping off irregularities on the surface of the clay. These are then baked in the coals of a fire and emerge smooth, marble-like spheres (pl. VIII, upper). Blow-gun projectiles are carried in the skin bag previously mentioned.

The Jicaque shows remarkable dexterity with his blow-gun, which has a range of accuracy up to 30 yards. He can either stun or kill monkeys or the largest birds, depending on the force of impact and in what area of the head the animal is struck. Although the blow-gun remains the most important weapon of the Jicaque, it is no longer used by the Miskito, Sumu or Paya groups.

Fishing is done with neither net nor hook. It has been almost a hundred and fifty years (1795) since the Jicaques resided on the sea shore at the mouth of the Rio Lean, and so the net, and the name for it, have been forgotten. Fish-hooks are procured through purchase or trade when possible, but their use is decidedly limited and they are employed more for enjoyment than in any serious attempt to augment the tribal larder.

Stream poisoning by rotinoe-yielding plants, employed with a technique more or less similar to that of the Indian tribes of South America is still the principal method of obtaining fish food. Due to

complaints by the *ladinos* that cattle drinking the rotinoe-impregnated water abort their calves, the local government of Orica has now limited the fish poisoning activities. It was necessary, therefore, for the author to obtain a special permit from the Ministry of Justice before an organized fish-hunt could be observed.

Twenty or more men usually participate in the preparations. Several concentrate on building the fish-trap, while others go out in search of the poison. The trap (pl. IX) is constructed on two supporting logs of pine which lie braced on rocks in the water some two or three feet below a small cascade. A frame superstructure of pine is then tied in place with strips of membrillo, and river reeds are dexterously lashed across the frame at intervals of half an inch. Meanwhile the surface of the river is raised by piling rocks on both sides of the stream arranged to converge its banks to the fish weir. Leaves from the suyate palm are then placed against these rocks and weighed down by stones to form a barrier that causes the entire flow of the stream to pass through the trap, which now catches any sizeable object drifting down in the current. These preparatory operations consume a whole day.

The next morning the remaining Indians gather about two miles above the fish weir with their bundles of poison. On the occasion of the particular hunt witnessed, the bark of the piscidia (*P. grandifolia* (D.SM.) JOHNSTON) was used. This tree, known com-

monly as zopolote, has had considerable employment as a commercial rotinoe-bearing plant and is extensively used in the West Indies for fishing. The Jicaque strip only one side of the tree so that it will not die—the blunt side of the axe being used to strike off shreds of the heavy bark. The amount taken from a single tree is rolled into a package weighing some twenty-five pounds, which is bound with leaves of the ubiquitous suyate palm and carried to the stream bank. Zopolote is not as effective as barbasco (*Tephrosia Heydeana* (RYBD.) STANDL.) but it is easier to obtain as the latter grows widely spaced only in the dry pine-oak areas. Still another poison, produced from a vine called chilpate (*Salmea scandens* (L.) DC.), often used by the *ladino* in Olancho for fish poisoning, has not the effectiveness of either of the other two narcotics.

Women are taboo during the fish hunt and a man whose wife is pregnant or menstruating must neither gather poison nor become a member of the party, because it is believed his presence will so weaken the potency of the poison that the fish will not succumb to it.

Some distance up-stream from the trap, the men wade into the water, each with a package of the bark which they immerse until a milky substance exudes. The bundle, still in its palm-leaf wrapper, is then placed on a rock and beaten with a broad-surfaced club and then again immersed. This process is repeated by each Indian until the bark no longer emits

the whiteish rotinoe, when the wrapper is opened and the macerated contents thrown into the water. This is repeated until close to forty packages of the bark are used, in all approximately eight hundred pounds.

At least an hour is consumed in these operations, when the party splits into two groups, one on either side of the river, where they comb the eddies along the banks for stunned fish. Some of the Indians then proceed downstream to the trap to retrieve the fish from that vantage point. The right time of the year for fish hunts is the hot-dry season when, the writer was informed, as many as 1,000 fish are taken by this process. The use of the numeral by the Jicaque, *mil*, in this instance, however, is nothing but the ladino-Spanish convention, signifying "many."

As at the hunt witnessed the temperature of the water was around fifty degrees, the poison did not take effect as it should, and only a small number of fish were taken, including, however, two foot-long eels. There occurred afterward a heated discussion as to the catch being so small, which, it was felt, was not from lack of preparation, but rather because some of the participants had not responded truthfully to the questions of the elders in respect to their respective states of "cleanliness."

The fish-hunt is a definite part of Jicaque economy, and they have lost none of the technical details or craftsmanship in their slow transition from the cultural arts of their ancestors.

TRIBAL AND FAMILY ORGANIZATION

Tribal organization, it would seem, was once much less integrated than it is now found. When the Jicaque were more numerous and lived at varying distances of one another, there was no chief or elder of the groups except an elected leader for a war that affected the whole tribe. Such a chief, chosen during a general conflict, dropped back to the respected obscurity of an elder of his dwelling and his own immediate family after the emergency ceased.

Today in the two Jicaque communities on Montaña de la Flor, the tribal system has changed, and the elder has full power over all the Indians in his group. In each community his word is final, and it is astounding to note the rapidity with which the desired action is carried out by the Indians on word of command. When facial masks were being made, after the confidence of Fidelio had been gained, he simply ordered that the Indians permit the casts to be formed, and they sat through what to them must have been a terrifying experience without a word of remonstrance. This would hardly have occurred among other tribes, the Jivaros of the Upper Amazon, for example. Live masks are illustrated on pl. X.

The elder is appointed at the death of his predecessor whose dying wish is carried out and the succession to rule seems to be fully respected. This process of government represents a distinct innovation from earlier forms, and has probably been

adopted as a last stand of the Jicaque against the ever-encroaching Spaniard.

Nothing exists in the literature on the Jicaques concerning the ancient family organization and very little was vouchsafed during the investigations here reported. Their utter terror of the white man's diseases, their timidity in regard to any questions as to population, number of wives, etc. made any investigation of these matters impossible. The manner of courtship, taboos kept during a woman's pregnancy, naming of children, dietetic regulations during the child's growth, all were veiled in determined silence. There was, too, the difficulty of language. None of the Indians could speak Spanish very fluently and the expedition lacked the necessary vocabulary properly to enter into the small intimate details of family life.

A Jicaque household today consists usually of the husband, his wives and his children, sometimes a grown son and his wife, sometimes an unmarried brother. Because the tribe now numbers scarcely more than a hundred individuals, women have become scarce and polygamy cannot be practiced as it once was. There were at least four bachelors among the group studied. Some of the Jicaques had young girls for their second or junior wives, but whether they are treated freely as such could not be ascertained. These younger women help with the household and agricultural tasks but not one had borne children. Unless the Jicaque has noticeably changed

in the last seventy-five years, I cannot agree with the rather uncritical dictum of Membreño: "Son estos indios muy lujuriosos [libinous], y sus hembras están en cinta á los doce años; se asegura que no hay respeto por las relaciones de familia, y que es frecuente que aun el padre laza madre á su propia hija. Por esto se comprenderá que los jicaques son una raza degenerada, llegando su falta de sentimientos de dignidad humana hasta vender sus hijas y mujeres por cualquier baratija [trinket]."³²

Membreño was speaking of a tribe of Jicaques living at El Palmar, near San Pedro Sula. Those visited on the Montaña de la Flor certainly show less degenerate tendencies than the *ladinos*, the family ties seem strong and constant, and there exists a most determined manner in the protection of their women folk.

It is quite probable that fathers did partake of their daughters in the early days of the new community on the Montaña; but this was undoubtedly less activated by incest than by the lack of women to propagate the small remnant of the tribe.

Although they have a word for feast and, it may be taken for granted, prepared some sort of intoxicating drink in the past, no such beverage is found among them today and they deny having a word for any drink of that nature. The word for drunkenness survives, but they are adamant in their refusal to partake of the brandy proffered them by visiting *ladino* traders. White people who have lived near

the Jicaques do not remember any instance of drunkenness, nor of homicide or other serious crime among them. The Jicaque refuse to allow padres to baptize their children, but they beg the visitor to name their children, all of whom, consequently, have Spanish names. Membreño's assurance: "unas, como las inmediatas, a Orica, catequizadas . . ." certainly does not hold today, so far as the younger Jicaques are concerned. No padre has ever passed the portals of their stockades, nor any one else prior to this expedition, except the American Consul, Acley, and Dr. Guilbert of Tegucigalpa, who spent a few hours in one of the houses in 1932.

Undoubtedly Christianity has had its effect upon them, even though it has come to the present group, which has never been in contact with missionaries, only through the narrow funnel of the earlier conversions by Subirana.

Practically nothing of the ancient cosmogony of the tribe exists, and those few confused concepts possible to record had Christianity inextricably bound up with them. On one dwelling there was a cross tied to a center beam. Since most of the houses among the *ladinos* display such symbols, it may have come to this family as a curious cultural loan. Upon inquiry it was learned that the cross was "against lightning," *i.e.*, a protection or safeguard.

The Jicaque recognize two primary beneficent gods: *Kastariyus* and *Hívaro*. The first is undoubt-

edly a corruption of the Christ-god. He remains eternally young, dwells in the heavens, and gazes down upon the world through a narrow-grated window. His influence is good, but neither offerings nor salutations are made him by the Jicaque. The second, *Hívaro*, also youthful, dwells apart from *Kastariyus* but appears in the same places. He likewise is offered no salutations.

The god of evil is female and is called *Tsii*. This being was described by two different informants, each with such vivid detail as to give the impression of their having actually seen it. *Tsii* is tall, has red eyes and wears the typical native clothing. She is the principal devil of which the Jicaque lives in mortal fear. There are others, smaller ones, who accompany her day and night. Their dwelling place is thought to be in the rocks—the larger rocks especially which abound in great number on the Montaña de la Flor, past which the Indian hurries mumbling something in the form of an incantation. It is believed that once a person is seized by *Tsii* nothing can save him from death. As the Jicaque gasps for breath in his death struggle, he is said to be clutched by *Tsii*. Yet all illness is not considered to be caused by the maliciousness of this demoness. On inquiry among several of the group under cure for leg ulcers it was learned that such minor things were not caused by the she-devil. Such ailments as swelling of the spleen, rheumatism and the results of

snake-bite are caused, in their mind, by the introduction of a foreign body similar to the *tunchi* (arrow) among the Jivaros.

The vague and confused legends based on an earlier intimate contact with Christianity have warped all their primitive approaches to the devil concept. It is not difficult to discern in *Tsii* and her satellite imps a corrupted combination of Satan, Eve and the snake in the Garden of Eden, along with Beelzebub and an assortment of lesser demons all of which occur in the Christian devil-cosmogony.

The Jicaque have no word for shaman or for the Spanish equivalent, *brujo*. They disclaim all knowledge of bush-medicine, and indeed, from the mortality occasioned among them by simple diseases, this may well be true.

A curious mixture of Christianity with their own beliefs, is shown, too, in their manner of disposing of the dead. After some preliminary mourning, the body is wrapped in cloth or bark-cloth, carried to the cemetery and interred with no actual burial accompaniments, except some of the garments in which the person died. A single repository, walled off like any typical Spanish cemetery, is located high on top of a hill a mile from their villages. At the foot end of the grave, a small wooden cross is placed, and at the head, an old clay pot with a hole punched through it. The pot is thus broken, it was explained, so that the corpse might be able to breathe through it.

THE JICAQUE RESERVATION AND THE FUTURE
OF THE IMMIGRANT COLONY

The agricultural pursuits of the Jicaque were far flung and for years were an important adjunct to the economy of the villages about them, and occasioned a brisk trade with white residents and *ladinos* of the valley. The population of Morale, a village ten miles to the west of the Montaña de la Flor, had, for some years, encroached upon the Jicaque plantations, a trespass that was a constant source of friction between the timorous Indians and the village residents.

In May 1927 Sr. don Francisco Mejia, alcalde of the town of Orica located some twelve miles distant, applied to President Barona of the Republic of Honduras for authority which would protect the Jicaques of the Montaña. His recommendations were in part as follows:

I have the honor to inform you that the indigenes that inhabit the Montaña de la Flor and its jurisdiction number about one hundred souls; other than a simple inspection is not possible in order to set up a more complete census of the inhabitants. These indigenes, who speak a dialect which none here understand, are very elusive (*muy esquivos*), and it is impossible to have intimate relations with them; but the greater part of them understand Spanish, for it is taught to them by their chieftains. Their life and customs are balanced and good; they live in complete peace

and never has there been recorded between them the taking of blood. They dedicate themselves to the cultivation of cereals and tubers as well as corn which is planted on a large scale. This is beneficial to the residents of this municipality Orica and to Cedros, and in addition, to the people of the Departments of Olancho, Yoro and Comayagua; they dedicate themselves also to the cultivation of tobacco of which they grow a superior type. The religion they profess is Catholic, they are Believers and very respectful toward this faith, but never wish to enter directly into it, because they do not wish to be baptized, nor to confess, declaring that these rituals are prejudicial because once possessed of them and once learned, those who do so display all forms of viciousness and become doers of evil. None of them knows how to read or have any relations with the *ladinos* for they will not admit contact with them due to their fear of acquiring a disease which they call "catarro" and which disease when it takes hold, decimates them, for once an Indian is ill he is abandoned until he is dead, so much fear do they have of this contagion. Another illness which readily attacks them are lombrices or stomach worms. They have constructed a formal cemetery where they inter their dead. Their houses are buildings of thatch with uprights of wood; they raise an abundance of all classes of birds in their corrals, as well as calves and steers; they are addicted to the hunting of deer and tapirs and all other classes of wild animals. With the exception of the women, who always go about clothed,

the men use only strips of cloth without sewing which covers the chest and the back, coming to the knees and held in place by a cincture of rope, fibers or vines.

In selling their products to the *ladinos*, the Indians are most considerate and for this reason we believe that the Supreme Government should focus their attention upon them. Their property as well as their cattle should be inviolate, as they as well as their agricultural products are important to all the other inhabitants of the valleys. For their agriculture, as I have said, is developed on a large scale and during times of drought or other calamities they remain always willing and ready to sell their products to whomsoever asks them. The territory that they occupy is public domain [national territory] and so it is my belief that it would be only just that this section of terrain, Montaña de la Flor, be deeded gratis to the tribe in perpetuity, so that none, in the future, might encroach upon them. (Author's translation)

President Barona's response to this request was immediate. He sent two engineers, José de Martínez and J. Burgos, to survey the Jicaque land, which survey was completed the same year. After ascertaining that not any of the Jicaque occupied territory was used by the *ladinos* nor claimed by any other resident, the engineers mapped out the claim that was to be ceded by the Government to the Jicaques. Page 8 of that document sets the limits

of the reservation, which included a total of 1,875 acres granted to the Indians in perpetuity.

The title to the land was completed and the Reservation made an actuality by President Barona on January 25, 1929, "in fulfilment of the cited memorandum 713 of the date of January of this current year and with the present testimony of 28 folio pages of Papel Sellado 'first class' of the proceedings in the measurement of the Terrain called 'Montaña de la Flor' located in the Municipality of Orica, Department of Tegucigalpa, in favor of the wild tribe who occupy it, whose actual chiefs are Domingo Martinez and Beltrán Soto for which they hold title in their common territory."

Thus, after four hundred years of exploitation and encroachment, this pitiful remnant of the Jicaque (Torrupan) came to possess this small parcel of land, the first formal reserve to be created, it is believed, for any primitive Indian group in Central America.

The importance of this governmental act cannot be overly stressed as it means that investigators still have an opportunity to go among this pure group of Jicaque for further study.

In other sections of Yoro, too, there may still be found isolated communities of Jicaques, not as pure, perhaps, in their ancient culture as those of Montaña de la Flor, but sufficiently primitive to make investigation advisable, especially for further studies in vocabulary and language structure. Throughout the valley of Central Yoro and farther into the Sierra

de Pijol there are communities of Hispanicized Jicaques that will bear investigation. An exceptional opportunity exists for work to be done in filling in the ethnological blank now existing in Honduras through a complete study of the Jicaque groups.

ETHNO-BOTANY

During the investigations among the Jicaque on the Montaña de la Flor the author's wife, Christine Inez von Hagen, made a representative collection of plants from the various ecological zones of that area. Medicinal and religious plants are wholly lacking among the Jicaque and, as the Indians are not given to extensive handicrafts, the list of plants other than those employed as food is not impressive. Nevertheless, as little or nothing has been recorded for this group it was felt that some approach to the subject should be made not alone to discuss the ethno-botany of the Jicaque, but for comparison with that of other groups in different areas of Honduras.

The collection thus made, now deposited in the New York Botanical Society, was examined and identified by Dr. Paul Y. Standley, a leading authority of Central America flora. The author is extremely grateful to Dr. Standley not only for his scholarly interest, but for throwing considerable light on the classification of several obscure specimens.

1. Maize (*Zea mays* L.). Planted in the humid zone gardens. Used principally for making a crude tortilla; it is seldom eaten fresh.

2. Maizello (*Sorghum vulgare* PERS.). Cultivated in small plots; not utilized by the Jicaque; planted principally for trade.

3. Yuca (*Manihot esculenta* CRANTZ). The principal food staple of the Jicaque. Each family raises its own patch, there being no communal gardens growing this plant. Boiled and eaten, generally, alone without salt, or as an ingredient in stews.

4. Camote (*Ipomoea batatas*). Prepared similarly to yuca.

5. Yams (*Santhosoma* sp.). Prepared similarly to yuca.

6. Tubers (*Dioscorea* sp.). Planted near to the dwellings in a desultory manner although the food is highly prized.

7. Beans (*Phaseolus* sp.). Planted in gardens; forms, with corn and yuca, an important item in the agricultural economy of the Jicaque.

8. Peanuts (*Arachis* sp.). Eaten raw; seldom toasted; grown mostly for sale or trade with the *ladino*.

9. Sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.). Grown in small patches; not an important plant among the Jicaque, as they extract only the juice by sucking.

10. Pineapples (*Ananas sativus*). Grown in small patches near the house; eaten occasionally by the children.

11. Guayaba (*Psidium guajava*). Cultivated around dwellings, although the tree grows wild in the forests. Only the fruit is eaten.

12. Guayo (*Talisia olivae formis* HBK). Trees grown about the dwellings. Fruit is eaten.
13. Sarsaparilla (*Smilax officinalis*; *S. medica*). Gathered for trade.
14. Matsano (*Casimiroa tetrameria* MILLSP.). Cultivated for fruit.
15. Cotton (*Gossypium* sp.). A few bushes grown around each house. Cotton is spun into small threads which the Jicaque use occasionally for sewing when commercial thread is not available.
16. Tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.). Grown in relatively large patches. Entire tribe, women, men and children addicted to pipe smoking. They raise enough tobacco above their own needs for trade with the *ladino* populations of the valleys.
17. Chile peppers (*Capsicum* sp.). Eaten with almost every meal either raw or as an ingredient in a stew of game and yuca.
18. Mescal (*Agave* sp.). Fibers combed out and used for rope for bow strings and arrow bindings.
19. Matapalo (*Ficus costaricana* (LIEBM.) MIQ.). Grown within the village palisades for its bark from which clothing is made. Formerly the tree was felled; now, since it has become scarce, only large branches are cut off for stripping. The bark is removed in strips sixteen inches wide and twenty feet long. It is then soaked in water for several days to remove the heavy viscous sap which, like rubber, has a tendency to coagulate. Such residue as remains after soaking, is scraped off. Bark beating seems to

be solely a male occupation. The long strip of bark is pounded over a rounded stump with a longitudinally grooved club made especially for the purpose. The technique is precisely similar to that employed not alone by western hemisphere groups such as the Sumu, Miskito, Otomi and Tlingit, but by natives of Polynesia and the Celebes, as well. Various other wild figs appear in Montaña de la Flor and are undoubtedly used when *F. costaricana* cannot be procured. The other species are: *Ficus padifolia* HBK; *Ficus radula* WILLD; *Ficus glabrata* HBK; *Ficus involuta* (LIEBM.) MIQ.

20. Membrillo (*Chaetoptelea mexicana* LIEBM.). Employed for making heavy bark cloth blankets.

21. Mogotillo (*Suarauia Englesignii* STANDL.). Branches of tree cut into eight foot lengths; used for the manufacture of the Jicaque blow-gun. Tree grows in humid sections of the region. Other species identified were *S. leucocarpa* SCHLECHT and *S. pauciserrata* HEMSL., but it was not ascertained if these species in addition to *S. Englesingii* were used.

22. Rabo de iguana (*Mimosa hondurana* BRITTON). Sharp-pronged vine used for hollowing out pith of branch in manufacture of the blow-gun.

23. Barba de viagre (*Equisetum giganteum* L.). Pronged vine used to enlarge lumen of blow-gun.

24. Corizo (*Arthostylidium racemiflorum* STEUD.). Grows in stands along stream banks to a height of over twenty feet. It easily splits into six sections

each $\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide and is used by the Jicaque to make baskets (pl. VIII, lower).

25. Cebolla de cerro (*Agave brachystachya* CAV.). A slender agave growing to a height of four feet; light, yet strong, with a diameter of not over a $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Used for arrow shafts, the points of which are made from the pacaya palm.

26. Pacaya (*Chamaedorea graminifolia* WENDL.). A tall, relatively slender-trunked palm which serves for various purposes. The leaves are often used for roof thatching and for temporary shelters when hunting. Bows are made from the trunk and, from its harder portions, sharpened points for arrows.

27. Coyol (*Acrocomia vinifera* OERST.). A large leafed palm, common on the coast, but quite scarce on the interior montaña. Planted near to the dwellings. The nut, which yields a heavy oil, does not seem to be utilized.

28. Banana (*Musa paradisiaca* L. & M.; *sapientum* L.). Large groves of banana plants are grown about the dwellings. Two varieties seem to be preferred, the small Cavendish eating banana and the large *platano macho*. Eaten raw and sometimes in stew, but more often baked in fire ashes.

29. Coffee (*Cafe arabica*). Not used; grown for sale only.

30. Calabash (*Crescentia cujete* L.). Planted about the houses. The round, non-palatable gourds are used for dishes.

31. Achiote (*Bixa orellana*). Not used by the Jicaque, though its seeds are important in the economy of most of the Indians of tropical America. It grows within the village stockades.

32. Oak (*Quercus segoviensis* LIEBM.). Forms the extensive ocotal-robledals and used by the Indians in the construction of house-walls and palisades. Also used for firewood.

33. Pine (*Pinus oocarpa* SCHIEDE). Because of large pitch content, used principally for illuminating torches and for stratifying the fires. Another species (*Pinus caribaea*) is also employed for the same purposes.

34. Damajoa (*Heliocarpus exsul* STANDL.). A fast growing tree quite similar to the balsa. It is very light and furnished the uprights for Jicaque dwellings. The Hispanicized groups of Yoro use it for the walls of their houses, as well. Several species are identified: *H. Donnell-Smithii* ROSE; *H. appendiculatus* TURCZ; *H. florus* SM. ROSE.

35. Zopolote (*Piscidia grandifolia* (D. SM.) JOHNSTON). Used by the Jicaque for fish poisoning. Large tree, twenty-five to sixty feet, usually found growing near to streams or rivers.

36. Barbasco (*Tephrosia Heydeana* (RYDB.) STANDL.). A small leguminosoan plant found growing in the dry pine and oak regions. Powerful rotinoe-yielding qualities and used, when obtainable, for fish hunts in preference to zopolote. Although other rotinoe-yielding plants grow in the area (*Lonchocar-*

pus Michelianus PITTIER; *L. hondurensis* BENTH) these are not singled out by the Jicaques for fishing.

37. Chilpate (*Salmea scandens* (L.) D.C.). Used for fish poisoning by the *ladinos*, but seldom, if ever, by the Jicaque. It is one of the most common vines fringing the river beds.

OTHER PLANTS OF NO GREAT UTILITY

38. Masicarin (*Dalbergia cubilquitensis* (D.SM.) PITTIER).
39. Lengua vaca (*Eupatorium Oerstedianum* BENTH.).
40. Suncel (*Veronia deppeana* LESS.).
41. Cordoncillo (*Piper multinervium* TREL.).
42. Flor armiarillo (*Paeymenium purpusii* BRANDEG.).
43. Liquidambo (*Liquidambar styraciflua* L.).
44. Aguacatillo (*Nectandra globosa* (HBK) MEZ.).
The resplendent quetzal eats this fruit.
45. Chilca (*Baccharis glutinosa* PERS.).
46. Uva (*Ardisia compressa* HBK).
47. Guama (*Inga punctata* WILLD?).
48. Panillo venado (*Ostrya virginiana* var. *guatemalensis* (WINKL.) MACBR.).
49. Guava de danto (*Chrysophyllum oliviforme* L.).
50. Santa Maria (*Calophyllum calaba* JACQ.).
51. Limoncillo (*Trichilia Donnell-Smithii* C. DC.).
52. Nance (*Brysonima crassifolia* (L.) DC).
53. Higarilla de monte (*Ricinus communis* L.).

54. Mano de Leon (*Oreopanax peltatum* LINDEN).
 55. Joco mico (*Spondias* sp.).
 56. Zapote (*Calocarpum mamosum* (L.) PIERRE).
 57. Cola marana (*Pithecolobium arboreum* (L.) URBAN).
 58. Chinicuite (*Bursera simaruba* (L.) SARG?).
 59. Chichicaste (*Wigandia caracasana* HBK).
 60. Capulin (*Trema floridana* BRITTON).
 61. Leche grado (*Croton panamensis* (KL.) M. ARG.).
 62. Algondoncillo (*Rapenea ferruginea* (R. & P.) MEZ.).
 63. Quebra muela (*Clusia flava* JACQ.).
 64. Sarsa (*Mimosa albida* H. & B.).
 65. Riego plato (*Solanum ochraceo-ferrugineum* (DUNAL.) FERNALD).
 66. Mozoton (*Desmodium plicatum* CHAM. & SCHL.).
 67. Vara blanca (*Lippia myriocephala* C. & S.).
 68. Aguacte negro (*Phoebe mexicana* MEISSN.).
 69. Nance cerro (*Clethra hondurensis* BRITTON).
 70. Chuti (*Persea Schiedeana* NEES.).
 71. Mora (*Rubus miser* LIEBM.).
 72. Zapotillo (*Photinia microcarpa* STANDL.).
 73. Guarumo (*Cecropia hondurensis* STANDL.).
 74. Nogal (*Juglans pyriformis* LIEBM.).
 75. Matasano (*Casimiroa tetrameria* MILLSP.).

LANGUAGE

Although the linguistic position of the Jicaques has been discussed to some extent in a previous

chapter, it may be wise to review the whole subject here even if some duplication is necessarily incurred. Due to the great lack of material for study, the scattered and fragmentary vocabularies recorded, and the relative difficulties met in the structure of the language itself, the linguistic position of the Jicaques has seemed to puzzle most of the investigators of the subject.

Brinton,³³ who had little or no material because Membreño did not publish his vocabularies until 1895, believed that while the Jicaque language contained a few Nahuatl words "the body of its vocabulary reveals no relationship to any other stock." Squier,³⁴ who wrote much earlier, was led to the conclusion that the Jicaques might possibly have been of common stock with the Lencas and speaking dialects of the same language. He was led to these conclusions on the use of Lenca Indians as interpreters by the missionaries whenever they went into the Jicaque country. Unfortunately for his hypothesis, he succumbed to the error of using the term "Xicaque" as a general appellation for all the wild tribes of Honduras. This confusion is obvious when he states that these "Xicaques" lived on the Rio Guayape and in the Xmastran Valley, now established to have been territory occupied by the Sumu and Paya.

Squier further bases his deduction on the close affinity of the Jicaque and Lenca tongues, mostly from the assertions of Juarros and Peleaz that the

Jicaques and Lencas are of one stock. From the writings of both of these historians Squier deduced "what is probably not far from the truth, that all belonged to a single group."

Thomas and Swanton³⁵ are of Brinton's opinion that the language of the Jicaque is an isolated stock. "This language, which, so far as known at present, was that of an independent stock, here named Jicaquean, is, or was, spoken by a tribe of Indians living in northern Honduras Although Membreño has a note on this tribe, he fails to indicate the locality further than by presenting the vocabularies of two dialects of the language—'Jicaque of Yoro' and 'Jicaque of Palmar' The difference between these two dialects as shown by the vocabularies is as great, if not greater, than that between the Maya proper and the Cakchikel."

Nor have the latest studies of Frederick Johnson added anything to the solution of the linguistic puzzle that the Jicaque present in their position in Central America. He recognizes that little has been added concerning the original territory occupied by the Jicaque since Thomas' and Swanton's work. Johnson lists Jicaquean as an unaffiliated stock along with Payan and Tarascan and shows the hypothetical boundaries as Thomas and Swanton placed them.

As previously noted, Lehmann regards the Sumu and Miskito as close affiliates in the Talamancan subdivision of the Chibchan stock, with the Paya, Lenca and Jicaque as remoter members. In this he agrees

with Sapper who felt that the Paya, Lenca and Jicaque held, linguistically, the middle ground between the Chorotegans on one side and the Mayan and Nahuatlean speaking peoples on the other.

The list of words chosen by Lehmann (II, p. 779) is here inserted to demonstrate what he regarded as similarities among the Paya, Lenca, Xinca, Mixe and Jicaque tongues. The terms shown in italics are supplied by the present author and do not appear in the original compilation.

	<i>Paya</i>	<i>Lenca</i>	<i>Jicaque</i>	<i>Xinca</i>	<i>Mixe</i>
mouth	<i>sapa</i>	ts'āts'a	<i>lup</i>	xahac	—
tongue	<i>uaw</i>	nepel	pu-elam	ela, ejlan	—
hand	<i>sawa</i>	gu-lala	<i>mas</i>	—	cüö, co
maize	aú	ama	au-cu	ahua, aima	yoa- moka
house	caó	t'äu	guá	macu, uápo	tüökö, töuk
louse	<i>cua</i>	tem	tet	tüöma	—
leaf	paia	—	<i>tsulo</i>	piya	—
stone	sa	caa	<i>pe</i>	—	tza
black	<i>saunkna</i>	sǐnga	<i>te</i>	sima, suma	—
water	asò	üas	sö	—	—
wind	<i>aunpiska</i>	poc	leo-puc	—	yzegüe

To Lehmann this purports to show that there must have been some dispersal point of the Xinca tongue which, while bearing an affinity to the Mixe-Zoque of Chiapas, had, nonetheless, been influenced by the

close contact and relationship with Lenca. From this vortex of tongues, the Chibchan from the South meeting the Mixe-Zoquean from the North, in Central America, Lehmann assumes the foundation of Jicaque, Paya, and perhaps even the Miskito-Sumu. There is no doubt but that this area of Honduras and Nicaragua peopled by Xinca, Lenca, Jicaque and Paya, constituted a zone of close mutual contact which marked the north-eastern limit of the Chibchan culture thrust into Central America. This is, despite its complications, as simple an explanation as can now be made. The latest analysis of Mason³⁶ is more complicated and no more conclusive:

"The affiliations of the Xinca, Lenca, Jicaque and Paya languages are so uncertain and controversial that for the present they had best be left unclassified or independent. There seems to be some sort of connection between all, but the lexical differences are so great that no two of them can be linked. Schuller insists that they, together with most of the other languages of Central America, including the Mayan, fall in his great Maya-Quiche-Carib-Arawak phylum. Lehmann sees Hokan traits in all except Payan. (The Hokaltecan Subtiaba are nearby.)

"Almost all agree, however, that the true affiliations lie between Mixe-Zoque (Mizocua-vean) and Chibchan. It should be noted that this is also the region of the cultural boundary between North and South America. By some they are considered intermediate languages, bridges

from Mizocuavean to Chibchan, and they may be true mixed languages with double or multiple roots. Sapir sees Penutian tendencies in all of them, decreasing from Xinca to Paya, and Lehmann believes that there is a demonstrable original relationship between Xinca, Lenca, Jicaque, and Mixe-Zoque and suggests that Aguacatec II forms the bridge from Mixe-Zoque to Xinca . . .”

Since Lehmann's studies, published in 1920, Conzemius has completed the outstanding definitive work on the Paya.³⁷ This excellent report on a tribe which now, culturally speaking, has been virtually dispersed, contains an exhaustive vocabulary and a minutely analytical grammar. From it there can exist no doubt but that the Paya, Jicaque, Sumu, and Miskito, in both culture and language, have shared some common source of origin.

Unless the future brings to light additional source material now buried in Spanish-Colonial or Latin-American archives—which, incidentally, is not at all unlikely—it would seem that this present work among the only known primitive group of the Jicaque (Torrupan) might be the last contribution to the linguistic chaos existing among the various native groups of northern Honduras.

VOCABULARIES

Among the several vocabularies representing different and widely separated sections of Honduras, but all within the acknowledged traditional borders of

the Jicaque tribe, perhaps the most valuable, because it represents the first attempt to record native words, is that taken by missionaries working among the Jicaques along the reaches of the Rio Lean into the Sierra Nombre de Dios. This vocabulary, published by Fernandez,¹⁷ is not only extensive but, in many instances, agrees closely with the present vocabulary recorded by the author at the Jicaque colony on Montaña de la Flor. A comparison of the two vocabularies taken seventy-five miles apart after an interim of one hundred and fifty years demonstrates many similarities in the more important words and, thus, confirms the belief that this Jicaque group has preserved intact much of its traditional speech. It must be emphasized, however, that some of the words recorded in 1790 when the Jicaque lived near the coast have long since been lost through disuse.

The texts of the same period taken from Padre Pedro Gomez published by Lehmann are only two small fragments of what must have been an extensive *doctrina Cristiana*. Had this been found complete much information would have been made available as to sentence structure and general grammatical form of the Jicaque tongue, for undoubtedly the padres would have been more conversant with it than any one else.

The vocabulary given by Menbreño,²⁷ already mentioned as being obtained through a resident of San Pedro Sula from Jicaques living near El Palmar, is interesting. For, despite most inaccurate tran-

scription and probable invention on the part of the Indians, the recording shows many intrusive Nahuatlisms, as might be expected from the geographical location of this group. Such a variation in speech developed that, of the five hundred words forming the comparative vocabularies of the Jicaque, scarcely more than twenty of the Palmar dialect show any agreement with those taken from other parts of Yoro.

The last vocabulary to be taken among the Hispanicized Jicaque throughout the Department of Yoro by Conzemius,³⁸ is extensive and more thorough than any previous recording. In almost every instance this vocabulary agrees with that of the present writer taken from the primitive Jicaque on the Montaña de la Flor. Considering the stretch of time, the natural timidity of the Jicaque, and the personal equation to be accounted for in the recordings by individuals, not all trained linguists, there is, nevertheless a general uniformity in many of the words of the six known Jicaque vocabularies.

Although vocabularies taken by the author from three Hispanicized Jicaques showed little agreement and obvious inventions where the real Jicaque word was not known, the compilation established a basis for similar recordings in the colony on the montaña. Two of the more intelligent Jicaques there, Ricardo and Abran, were informants, but, although many words were listed, the impossible task of piercing the

native reticence made it difficult to compile many phrases.

ORTHOGRAPHY. The following sounds are recognized in the recordings here listed:

a, b, c, d, e, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, r, s, t, ts, u, w, x, y, z.

a, e, i, o, u, unless modified by standard English diacritical marks, are pronounced with the values as in Spanish.

ö, as in the German *löwe*.

ts, as the German z in *zeit*.

x, as the English sh in *she*.

ch, as in Spanish.

ń, as ing in *sing*.

THE ARTICLE. There seems to be no definite article. The Jicaque, however, do use what might be called article prefixes, *an* and *am*, generally slurred as in *n'kěp* (woman), *n'tsupil* (thatching), *m'pol* (star), etc. For the indefinite article, the cardinal number one, *pani*, is used. It is always placed after the noun.

ACCENT. Follows no definite rule; most words, however, are accented on the ante-penultimate syllable. In the verbal infinitive, the accentuation is the penultimate. In bi-syllabic words, the accent falls on the first syllable.

GENDER. No special termination indicates gender. In regard to persons or animals, it becomes necessary to express sex by a noun complement; *yom* (man), *kěp* (woman), *kokoy* (male), *mumuy* (female):

kastara mumuy, hen

ampusai kokoy, male quetzal bird

kēp tunkür dress of the women

Size is similarly expressed by a suffixed word; *pöne* (big), *tsikway* (small):

yom pöne, big man

yom tsikway, small man

POSSESSION. Expressed with the adjectival possessive placed before the noun; it is not inflected:

nap tsoyo, my dog

hip tsoyo, your dog

hup tsoyo, his dog

The adjective is generally non-variable and is placed after the noun. The verb generally ends the sentence, and with some form of recognizable conjunction. The infinitive of the verb in most instances ends in *ga* or, sometimes, phonetically *ka*:

pues sega, to be

wus karakka, to show

hakarrutsaka, to send

The infinitive endings in related languages are; *aya*, Miskito; *naka*, Ulwa; *nini*, Panamanka; *nin*, Twahka.

VOCABULARY

man	yom
male	kokoy
woman	kěp
female	mumuy
family	torrúpan
father	bapáy
mother	namáy
husband	wayum
wife	natsom
child (boy)	tsikway
girl	kěptsikway
young man	pots kescuy
son	natawáy
daughter	kukustway
oldest brother	natam
youngest brother	natam tsikway
oldest sister	tsipuay
youngest sister	tsipuay tsikway
uncle	kokam
aunt	namap
nephew	kerep
grandson	kokway
son-in-law	papusway
chief	kokoy kurándets
elder	kulmuy
brother-in-law	nahey
father-in-law	nayom
bachelor	tärran pur yasatuk
body	popo
flesh	buisis
bone	kre
blood	ats
vein, nerve	tsitsim
skin	porok

hair	tsil
head	hipuk
forehead	barra
eye	nan
eyebrow	nantsir
eyelashes	nantsir
ear	potz
nose	nik
mouth	lam
lip	lup
tongue	berañ
tooth	bis
beard	tchukan
neck	mentoñ
shoulder	pus
elbow	mankuts
hand	mas
arm	pel
finger	machipan
nail	pep
chest	osum
navel	luru
stomach	kol
hip	nolónkol
back	pop
leg	dik
foot	tsom
knee	dik
tail	zok
heart	nahas
liver	kom
spleen	puepe
breast	horsun
kidney	hoyóro
milk	tsots
lungs	popoy
intestines	tsul
saliva	puts
urine	tsutska
excrement	uyus

spirit; soul	tamay
blind	hin druk
sick	tsunuka
dead	tenkwit
devil	tsii
sky	solsis
sun	loksaki
moon	mumuy
star	pöl
fog	mol
rain	hevi
hail	lup
dew	luak
frozen	potsots
ice	tsoix
water	tsö
warm	awa
fire	aua
air	lupu
lightning	lorim
thunder	lal
steam	puk
smoke	mus
rainbow	tsekolsöp
earthquake	chikatchi
earth; mud	ma
mountain	neven
valley	yomal
cave	mehöl
pit	ma höl
stone; rock	pë
sand	sus
mud	ma
dust	pa
ash	pö
gold	temel be
silver (money)	temel pe
river	tso pöne
salt	tsarin

summer	tsatchi
winter; wet season	tsáhots
dry season	latsaktec
heat	awa
cold	tsoix
shade	tsoro
dark	poxtumo
year	chiiquin pöne
month	mu pöne
day	yakats
yesterday	tampin
tomorrow	yay
late	nasetya
night	puiste
morning	ya
afternoon	atsöva
noon	tseteya
lion	pua
jaguar	tepuia
deer	pus
tapir	til
pig	marano (Sp. corrupt.)
wild pig	siba; nam
dog	tsoyo
rabbit	kotokot
rat	metusi
cat	miste (Sp. corrupt.)
peccary	nam
agouti	ke
horse	kavyu (Sp. corrupt.)
anteater	kuyu
paca	poyom
coati	tsol
armadillo	yúkuts
squirrel	tsu
monkeys	tseür; lui; suyu
capuchin monkey	marakañ
small lizard	modut
iguana	hupue
snake	lats

egg	pehey
nest	tsinstin
feather	pesus
buzzard	manta
bird	tsobay
eagle	tsushi
hawk	poyos
owl	ke
barn owl	tsots
macaw	pasa
parrot	kirik
parrakeet	murets
rooster	kastara kokoy
hen	kastara mumuy
sparrow	tunum
woodpecker	tsekterem
toucan	tenkwit
turkey	torö
wild turkey	yus
fish	kul
alligator	yuts
crab	hop
frog	win
scorpion	tseb
spider	korok
tick	tsum pue
louse	tot
flea	pel
cockroach	kratsa
ant	lakesay
fly	tsongroy
mosquito	hene
cicada	tsikin
grub; worm	tsey
shell	tso
butterfly	lemlem
wasp	petel
honeybee	tsax-pöne
honey	tsax
wax	yam

tree	yo
trunk	lotot
root	tsil
branch	am
leaf	tsulo
bark	lotot
spine	tsip
bramble	hol
fruit	wurax
wood	wot
woods	hokmo
pine grove	tsurol
field	tsitsi
grass	huyu
harvest	wawa
maize	nop
sorghum	tevlen
yuca (manioc)	kéväл
agave, maguey	nurö
camote	mana
yams	mun
tubers	wöm
beans	tsin
wild grapes, uvas	tsurotsol
peanuts	kuö
coffee	koa
sugar-cane	au
pineapples	matsats
avocado	tsit
guava	söol
papaya	tsenwoy
squash	nu
sarsaparilla	tsals
banana (generally)	bärantá
small Cavendish banana	palatin (Sp. corrupt.)
large platano macho	bärantá kokoy
chicle, zapote	tsela; an
calabash, jicaro	shem
tobacco	puya
cotton	tönim
zopolote	tunkúye

barbasco	tse
chile peppers	tsele
bijagua	tsuts
ciruella	mirak
matsano	unwa
fig tree	tüi
mescal	nulu
guajinquil tree	kok
cedar	yats
matapaolo	lem
membrillo	tsuyos
mogotillo	pom
rabo de iguana	puts
barba de viagre	poiproi
corizo	biso
cebolla de cerro	namshoe
pacaya	krak
coyol	yuku
achiote	wal
oak	tsuey
pine	ayo
damajoa	ahut
masicarin	tsetrete
lengua vaca	umwak preän
suncel	tsumul
cordoncillo	tumyos
aguacatillo	tzectios
chilca	ants
panillo venado	merisílas
guava de danto	tel miyu
Santa Maria	matar
limoncillo	tsengreyos
nance	tcheb
higarilla de monte	tsui
mano de Leon	hutsok
joco mico	urukon
cola marana	tsiriyuk
jinicuite	pots
chichicaste	pucamuk
capulin	puman
leche grado	ayos

algondoncillo	tönimyo
quebra muela	bistíura
sarsa	hol
mozoton	tsols
vara blanca	yope
aguacate negro	tsete
nance cerro	tsupa
chuti	wat
mora	techepuë
zapotillo	an
guarumo	kopai
nogal	pana
matasano	va
food	las
feast	lomenganä
lard, fat	pan
green corn	ko
corn gruel	jul
tortilla	tsets
raw banana	chi
stewed banana	tihr
baked banana	bärantá ata uhm
brown sugar	lus
home, house, store	wa
hut	tsupel
house-wall	bömáts-toso
thatched roof	tsúpil
door	huranu
bed	kan
stool	kúsäla-sets
coal (charcoal)	tsek
lime	pö
metate	pemos
caldron	tsöoy
clay cooking pot	leka
cooking plate	cumal
bark beater	lapras
basket	tululu
clothing	kalson (Sp. corrupt.)

male tunic	nihngüp
male bark-cloth tunic	nihngüptüi
female bark-cloth wrap	kěp tankurtüi
female wrap of trade material	kěp tankür
pouch, bag	pópus
shoe	sapat (Sp. corrupt.)
skirt	kodo otso
fish hook	tsutä kóyuk
firearms	escopeta (Sp.)—makie
blow-gun	tutla
blow-gun pellets	mul
arrow, blunt	semor
arrow, pointed	harek
bow	yamektü
quiver	acäntu
white	pe
black	te
red	he
yellow	lu
blue	tsu
green	hostsu
name	lea
word	tevele
cry, scream	latipu
noise	pak
sadness	piu
thief	pek
ulcer	mentsyuts
sleep	maha
dry	pa
sour	tuhusa
bitter	on
sweet	an
small, little	tsikway
large, big	pöne
thin	kre
tender	luluy
good	uwö

bad	marara
beautiful	ok
round	tulu
square	temtemaki
heavy	kapuktua
strong	hasteok
feeble	amarada
thick, fat	pan
wide	kopal pöne
high	kamba
old	kolmuy
crude, raw	tör
drunken	asis-minhöp
to finish	ka po matör
to burn	tunim ka
to tie	supap
to start, to pull out	lakorokga
to roast	maunla
to search	paparkga
to descend	partek
to yawn	mahaga
to cut	tets
to eat	luka or tela?
to run	kiganeska
to harvest	wawäka
to sing	netseska
to fall	partök
to heat	öwa
to construct	komaringa
to give	kayaga
to sleep	purestaka
to expectorate	putsga
to enter	wääös
to be cold	kinkin tsöis
to shoot arrow	nukagös
to scream	kurö
to boil	myolka
to find	kalaygusak
to go	maska
to cry	pönepöne

to rain	hive
to die	tepéy
to grind	kyol
to toast	sar
to take	naä
to play (music)	netsetska
to see	keönuk
to weep	lipyum
to urinate	katsutsga
to hear	yakas
to stay, endure	sepep
to rot	tomah
to rob	tupemára
to perspire	putswa
to dream	hami
to sow	tisiňka
to be hungry	tsurök
to be thirsty	tsö nive
to cough	mentsyutska
to work	trabaholey (Sp. corrupt.)
to bite	tera
to run	tsekene
 I	nap
you	hip
he	hup
we	kup
she	na
they	na-im
yours	hipitsa
I am	tsö
he is	nip
we are	kup
his	huputsa
they are	yonap
I eat	nape tela
you eat	höpe tela
he eats	hup lia
 this	köne
where	kat

here	kive
how	san
there	nahats
near (close)	nyapin
far	kamba
below	mana
above, upon	arpa
yes	poni
no	an
much	brek
there is (are) not	nahats
who	panak
what	tchum
why	höse

Numeration is vegesimal. In counting the Jicaque uses fingers and toes as digits.

one	pani
two	mata
three	kont
four	urupan
five	komasopani
six	kuspi
seven	kus panikuö
eight	kamayarö
nine	
ten	komaspö
twenty	tsenam pani
forty	tsenam mata
sixty	tsenam contis
eighty	tsenam yurupa
one hundred	tsenam komas

The author wishes to thank Mr. E. K. Burnett of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation for his assistance in preparing this paper and for his patient and resourceful editing; and the D. Appleton-Century Company for courteous permission to use extracts from *The Maya and Their Neighbors*.

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LUSH VEGETATION OF UPPER HEIGHTS ON
MONTAÑA DE LA FLOR



STOCKADE SURROUNDING BELTRÁN'S VILLAGE—
RIO GUARABUQUI IN BACKGROUND



TYPES OF JICAQUE MEN



JICAQUE MEN SHOWING NATIVE COSTUME



JICAQUE WOMAN WITH INFANT
AT AUTHOR'S CAMP



JICAQUE HOUSE WITH WOMAN IN FOREGROUND—FROM
GATE IN STOCKADE AROUND BELTRÁN'S VILLAGE



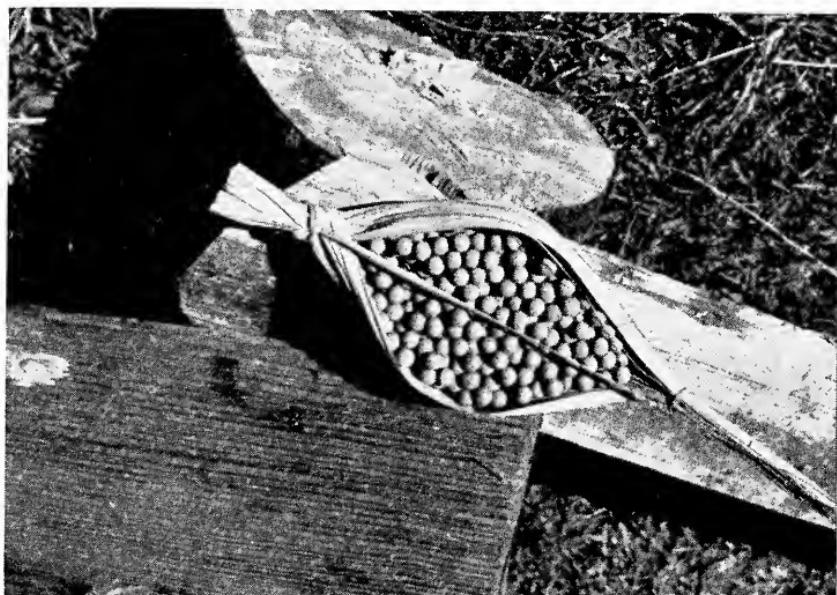
GROUP OUTSIDE JICAQUE HOUSE. NOTE PARALLEL COURSES OF LIANAS
BINDING WALL UNITS



JICAQUE MEN GATHERING HONEY FROM CULTIVATED BEE COLONY



JICAQUE MAN USING BLOW-GUN AND WEARING NATIVE GARMENT
(nihugüpiti) AND SKIN POUCH (*bohus*)



CLAY PELLETS (*mul*) USED AS AMMUNITION
FOR BLOW-GUN



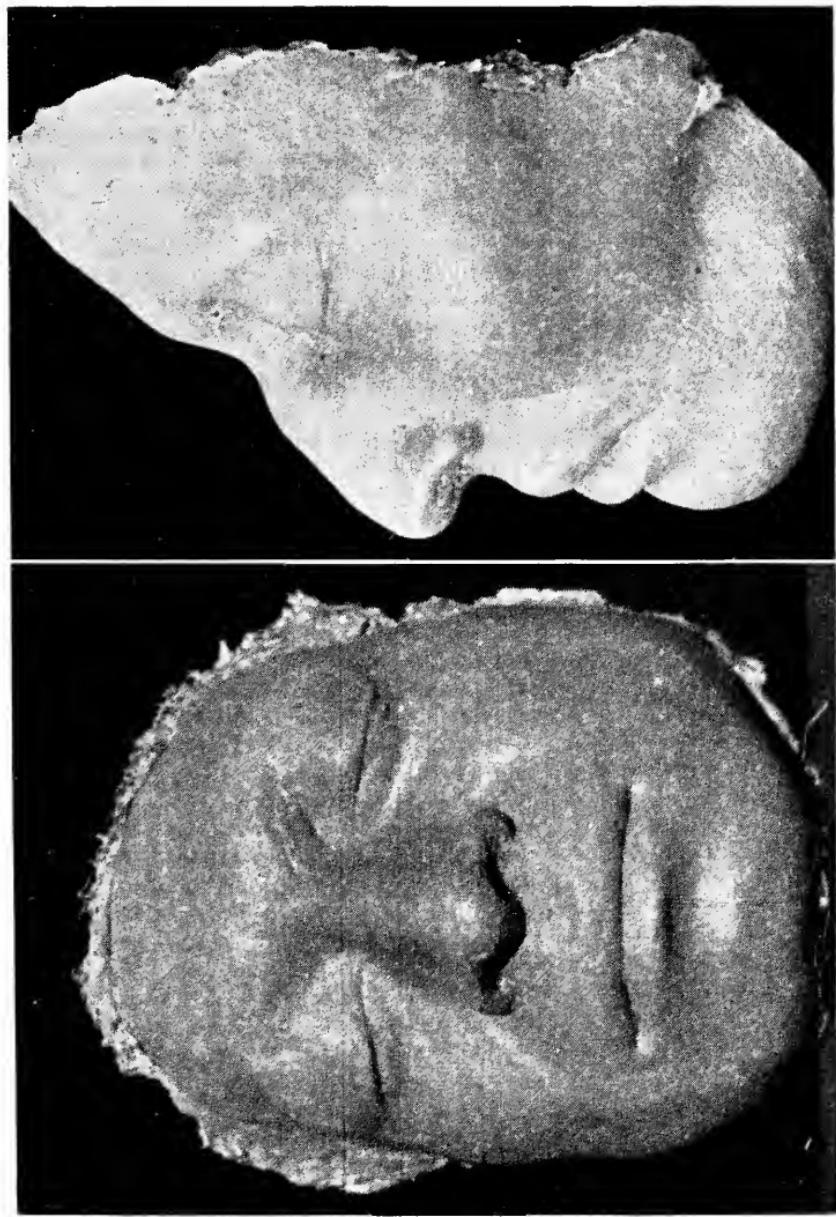
JICAQUE BASKETS



FISH TRAP, SHOWING METHOD OF DAMMING STREAM BANKS WITH ROCKS AND SUYATE PALM LEAVES



DETAIL OF JICAQUE FISH TRAP IN POSITION



LIVE MASKS OF JICAQUE MEN



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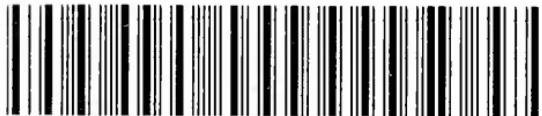
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